FBIS DAILY REPORT

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[Vukovic, 29 Apr]

LEADERS JOIN IN LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY OBSERVANCES

Korcak Speech

LD081230 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 May 81 pp 1, 2

["Excerpts" of speech by Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier, at the ceremonial meeting held in Prague's Smetana Theater to mark the 36th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle by the Czechoslovak people and the Soviet Army's liberation of Czechoslovakia]

[Text] This year we are already recalling the 36th anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak people's national liberation struggle and of our country's liberation by the Soviet Army. Today it is precisely 36 years since the final struggle against the Nazi occupiers began at Prague barricades, and since the heroic Soviet Army with its last strike --the legendary Prague operation--brought freedom to our capital and peace to Europe.

In the historical calendar, this is not too long a time. But no other time has been so rich in such important events and in such profound social changes. The spring of 1945 will be connected forever in the history of our nations with the fulfillment of their centuries-old aspirations. It paved the way for our country's socialist epoch, for the truly free life of the Czechoslovak people and for a life of creative and peaceful work.

We welcome this year's May Day in a festive and creative atmosphere, directly influenced by the deliberations of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

Real respect for revolutionary traditions does not consist of big words or reminiscences. It consists, above all, of practical, concrete deeds, aimed at fulfilling their living legacy. It consists of determination to continue the unfinished battles and to keep on carrying the torch of progress and of the struggle for a better future.

The heroism of our fallen anti-Fascist fighters is immortal. It will remain forever inscribed in the grateful memory of the people. However, we know that we cannot live from yesterday and through yesterday. Our main concern is today and what will come tomorrow. The past teaches us a responsible and active approach; we turn to the past to find in it strength and optimism for resolving the complex and demanding tasks connected with building an advanced socialist society.

By its consistent solution of the issues of our society's further development, mapped out by the 16th Congress, the CPCZ manifests its loyalty to the revolutionary traditions of the workers class and the working people, its ability to measure up to the tasks of the times, its readiness to continue the work which our people are accomplishing under its guidance and which embodies all the great things for which the past generations strove.

The May celebrations have become a traditional part of our lives. The May lilacs of 1945 burst into bloom year after year as a display of rejoicing over the end of the war horrors and of thanks to the fighters against Fascism, as a celebration of the Soviet Army's heroism and the symbol of loyalty to the idea of friendship and peace. The ranks of those who participated in that splendid spring have grown thinner, its witnesses are fewer, and for the new generations it is only a chapter from a text book of modern history. Much has changed, but the essence, the purpose and the direction of the developments in our country and in the world harmonize with the ideas and aspirations of those unforgettable days. The victory over Fascism radically changed the political map of Europe and created a new correlation of forces. This dearly paid-for victory had to be defended more than once. We realize this particularly during the celebrations of this year's May Day which are marked by the great international response to the 26th CPSU Congress. As has been shown by the Congress of Soviet Communists, we are finding ourselves at an important crossroads of the world class struggle and of the development of international economic relations.

We are entering an important stage of the struggle for peace, security and disarmament. Nothing is more urgent than to prevent the most reactionary forces of imperialism from thwarting the process of detente and from bringing the world to the brink of a disastrous war, to prevent the Pentagon from realizing its despicable plans to arm West Europe with new missile nuclear weapons.

In these conditions the revolutionary, anti-imperialist and antiwar legacy of the year 1945 is of exceptional importance. The Slovak national uprising and the May rising of the Czech people proved that only the working class, led by its revolutionary vanguard, the Communist Party, is capable of resolving the centuries-old questions of national and social liberation. The results of the anti-Fascist struggle and subsequent developments have confirmed the correctness of the strategic line of unification of the anti-Fascist resistance movement on the basis of the program of national and democratic revolution. They proved the need for a socialist solution as the only possible path toward a socially just, internationally guaranteed and prosperous society. Only the construction of a new, people's democratic system, and the finding of a firm place alongside the USSR and the fraternal family of socialist states could finally secure the future of the joint state of Czechs and Slovaks. Only thus was it possible to embark on the way toward socialism, to carry out nationalization, industrialization, the cooperative form of agriculture and the cultural revolution, and to create a happy home for the citizens of this country.

We are fulfilling the ideals for which the best sons and daughters of our nations fought, suffered and died. The 36 years which have elapsed since the liberation were years of great struggles. Every step forward required much effort. Experiences have shown that any threat to the fruits of the anti-Fascist struggle and revolutionary achievements, any violation of socialist principles, was always aimed against the most fundamental vital interests of the Czechoslovak people. The historic discovery, which was made in the consciousness of our people in the tests and bitter lessons from the period before Munich, during Munich, in the years of World War II, has been strengthened in the class struggles for the victory of socialism. It also contains a reply to the question of why the CPCZ prevailed in the political struggle for the majority of the nation in the years 1945-48, why the February events ended in a crushing victory by the working class over reaction and why, too, the attempted counterrevolution 20 years later was thwarted.

The new party leadership headed by Comrade Gustav Husak has been basing its policy for the last 12 years on loyalty to the glorious traditions of our socialist revolution and is developing them successfully in present-day conditions. We will also pursue this tested course in the struggles for mastering the tasks of the eighties.

History knows not a few examples of how new generations have increased the heritage of previous generations. We should not, of course, forget instances when they wasted it. Our enemies are gambling on us not being sufficiently steeled and on us not having a sufficiently deep knowledge of yesterday's struggles. In this sphere also we must however not give them any opportunity. The political conclusions expressed in the permanently valid document, "The Lessons From the Crisis-Ridden Development in the Party and Society After the 13th Party Congress," have become a part of our work. The party will continue to work in their spirit. General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Brezhnev paid a high tribute to our party in this respect at the 16th CPCZ Congress. We are justly proud of this, but this also constitutes a great obligation for us. Our party regards as its class, national and internationalist duty that the revolutionary legacy of anti-Fascist fighters and those who built the foundations of socialism is firmly anchored in the life and consciousness of millions of our citizens and that they live forever in the memory of future generations and this memory is projected in their actions.

With the lapse of time many things which were won through hard struggl s might appear a natural part of things. Nevertheless they do not cease to remain gains to be protected. We must never forget in what difficult circumstances May 1945 was born and with what ideals, in unity with whom and against whom our freedom and our socialist pr sent were won, and we must always bear in mind that the legacy of the anti-Fascist fighters and the work of the builders of our new life prompts us to do, what it warns us of and what it obliges us to do.

Comrades! The years which have elapsed since the memorable year of 1945 were rich in rapid and radical changes. Our country has grown into a new beauty and has become a bountiful and peaceful home of free people, making use of the fruits of their noble work. Large-scale socialist production has multiplied production forces, altered the character of the countryside and the way of thinking of millions of people. Who among us would not ponder over the direction and purpose of these revolutionary transformations, who would not seek his own place and his own responsibility and who would not gauge his own vital principles and aims? What will the coming years bring? On what certainties are we to base our plans, and with what can we and can we not reckon in the future?

It was the 16th congress of our party which gave an understandable and well reasoned answer to these questions. It confirmed the long-term general line of building an advanced socialist society and formulated a realistic, sober and mobilizing program for the political, socioeconomic and spiritual development of our country. It expresses the stability of the political and economic course and the steadfastness of our international position. It constitutes a scientifically based policy, beneficial to the working people, of strengthening and developing socialist values and of improving the quality of living conditions.

It would however be a fundamental mistake to underestimate the need for new attitudes, views and tasks. The person who could conceive the continuity of policy as the possibility of continuing in well-worn tracks, of proceeding at the existing rate, of relying on routine methods of work, would proceed at variance with the aims of the congress. A reliable foundation of the further development of our society rests in material resources, spiritual and social forces, which we have accumulated in the course of socialist construction and further multiplied in the period since the 15th congress. The 16th congress enjoined us to strengthen this foundation and to utilize it most effectively in the interests of the development of socialism, the efflorescence of our homeland and the profit of working people.

However, the targets set cannot be founded only on our wishes. The success of our work, as Comrade Husak said, will depend above all on the ability of most effectively and economically using what we have, of concentrating means primarily on what will help to resolve our economic problems and on what is crucial for the further development of man and society. Questions of economic policy, of this realistic foundation of a program for the well-being of man and his development, have been the focus of the party's attention since the first days of rebuilding the economy shattered by the war. They were an important aspect of the unforgettable political mastery of Klement Gottwald, a part of the party's struggle for the masses. At present in this very same sphere, the most important part of the struggle for the fulfillment of the program for building an advanced socialist society is taking place. The past decades have shown that each and every economic success or failure has an influence on all other aspects of social life. That is why we are giving priority to a correct political attitude toward the fulfillment of economic tasks. We ensure that the standards managing activity are constantly enhanced and that the quality of cadres is improved. A rational utilization of all our economic resources becomes increasingly urgent in our country's conditions. The 26th CPSU Congress gave to this problem a useful reply for us too: An economic attitude toward the wealth of the society, Comrade Brezhnev said from the rostrum, the ability to fully and purposefully utilize all that we possess...is seemingly a very simple and everyday matter.

But its assertion encounters a number of various obstacles, especially inertia, traditions and habits from the period when quantitative and not qualitative aspects were given priority.

It is not always easy to break the force of habit. It will be necessary to part with more than one ingrained idea, method of management, manner of conduct and habit of thought. Nothing can be postponed, but it would be equally erroneous to succomb to haste and impatience. We cannot suddenly alter the situation by a mere organizational directive, to plan it by a certain date. But time does not wait, and every delay is paid for dearly. [Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1655 GMT on 5 May broadcasts a version of Korcak's speech which contains the following passage not included in the press version: "Experiences have shown that in socialism, too, we cannot overlook objective laws or rely on their automatic action. Such an attitude is harmful everywhere and especially in the economy. Economic relations are increasingly complex. The impact of the world economy's unfavorable influences cannot be overlooked or simplified. But it would be incorrect and unjust to blame external conditions for what depends on us and on us alone. We are not powerless against them but we must reckon with them and [words indistinct]. The rise in world prices of raw materials, commodities and energy cannot be influenced by us. But it is up to us how economically we husband them, how we succeed in optimally processing them and how advantageously we can sell our products."]

During the seventh 5-year period we face the solving of a number of interlinked tasks: The improvement of management of the national economy, primarily its planning, represents one of the key tasks. The belief that a more effective solution is in the long term to the benefit not only of the whole but also of every individual is enjoying ever greater support. Considerable damage is caused however by the behavior of those who express their commitment only verbally, adopting demanding tasks but doing little for their fulfillment, frequently referring to resolutions but frequently acting against their spirit. The contradiction between intentions and reality is particularly tangible in the economic sphere which concerns the everyday needs and interests of millions. It has a damaging effect on the thinking and moral atmosphere in working collectives and on society in general. Both the unity of programs and consistent actions are the basis of socialist security. For this reason it is inadmissible to be blind to any case where congress tasks are approached in a formal and lukewarm way, where instead of their realization there is only a vague reminder about them, and when instead of practical steps tasks are only discussed.

Agreement with the 16th congress program makes us happy but it is also an obligation: It testifies to the fact that our policy is in keeping with the working people's vital interests and that it is in keeping with their dreams and expectations. We cannot do without a plan, without resolutions and instructions. However, they are useful only if they help to implement our aims in life. Once having started with paperwork and having neglected the needs of practice we can only damage the conclusions of the congress. It is the duty of us all, everyone in his place, and primarily all responsible leading workers in the economy and state management, to ensure that the hopes of the people are not disappointed.

The party's policy provides social security for all honest and straight people. But it does not provide undeserved rewards for poor quality work; it does not allow anyone to be satisfied with routine and with backwardness; it has nothing in common with the preservation of obsolete technology or [word indistinct] the method of activity. The stability of the party's economic policy opens the way for social progress in science, technology, culture, providing support for creative innovation. But the consolidation of socialist security does not mean the guarantee of a fixed place, trust and calm for those who like living only on the strength of old merits, lagging behind the demands of the times and believing that by inactivity they avoid making mistakes.

The high demands, high and demanding tasks, bring with them also many worries. We face many an obstacle; there are various difficulties. Nevertheless we can rely on the further development of our economy. However, this will not be determined by our wishes but by whether we will be able to effectively utilize our capabilities and potential, whether we will resolutely enhance the effectiveness of production and quality of work. The total final effect of our endeavor depends in many ways on the extent of our participation in socialist integration, on the size of our contribution to CEMA activity, and especially on the standards of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. The performance of our national economy will determine also the wages, social and prices policies.

Concern for the working man has been and is the focus of our attention. We must never lose sight of this principle of our communist policy, this achievement of the socialist revolution. At the very outset of our socialist road millions of people dreamed of a socially just arrangement of society and of a happy, materially secured and spiritually rich life in peace. Many fought and died bravely with weapons in their hands and also made sacrifices on the labor fronts for this idea. Today we see better how long-term and complicated is this aim. The demand of a socially just, highly efficient and truly humane society is inscribed also on today's red banners. The CPCZ will never be untrue to it.

Comrades, the words of Comrade Husak, general secretary of our party's Central Committee and president of the republic, to the effect that the strength of our party as well as the strength of the whole of our socialist society lies in the unity of the party's aims and the people indicate the direction of the implementation of the demanding program of the 16th congress, the road toward securing the vital interests of the citizens of our country.

Communists cannot build socialism by themselves. Neither are they fighting for it for themselves alone. The Leninist understanding of the relationships between the party and the masses is what the CPCZ has always championed. It is borne out by its whole 660-year history, by its overcoming of opportunist influences, backward moods and sectarian impatience and introversion. The party proceeds also from these lessons of the past. It combines in its policy the interests of the broad masses, generalizes their experiences and organizes the forces of society to translate them into practice. The creative activity of the working people, the conscious and combined course of action in the realization of the party's policy--this is the most important force of our socialist system, a proof of the superiority of socialist democracy.

The 16th congress stressed that we understand socialist democracy in the unity of both its aspects, in the application of both the rights and duties of citizens toward society. Only on this precondition can the social organism develop as a harmonious whole and only at that time will we be able to make use of the creative activity of people for the realization of common aims. In the interest of this we will take due care concerning the development of citizens' initiative and act resolutely against all manifestations of bureaucratic indifference.

It is the national committees which constitute the principal link between the state and citizens and the largest school of socialist administration and democracy in practice. We are firmly convinced that they will continue to fulfill their mission, and that the pre-election campaign, the assessment of existing election programs, the drafting of new ones and the responsible selection of candidates for deputies will significantly contribute to galvanizing them further for the fulfillment of the 16th party congress conclusions.

We have a broad base for in-depth extension of our socialist democracy.

It is formed by the National Front and the organizations associated in it, the national committees, legislative bodies, the executive bodies of the state, our whole legal system and the educational and information systems. We see the purpose and content of democracy in the ever broader participation of our people in the country's administration in the resolving of state and social affairs, in everyday decision making involving the affairs of factories, villages and towns. We will continue to extend in depth and defend further this true democracy, the democracy of the working masses, as instructed by the congress. Its part is a broad exchange of views and the development of constructive criticism, a responsible dealing with observations, the tackling of criticized shortcomings and the provision of information to the public.

The National Front, as the political expression of the class bond of the workers and intelligentsia, the community of our nations and nationalities, has been uniting the endeavor of communists, members of other political parties and nonparty members throughout the period of socialist construction. We are justly recalling the aims of the ideas of the National Front in connection with the national liberation struggle of our people. This historically created form of the bond between the working people does not belong to the past. We have always had to pay dearly for disregarding this fact, for approaching this question of principle in a formal manner. We assess the role of the National Front for the future in the light of this principle, too. In preparing the general elections we are not concerned this year, either, with some preelection tactics, or with declarations of unrealistic promises. Socialist democracy is for us primarily a matter of practical actions; it always aims at the deepening and broadening of the committed mass, work and civil activity. This must be reflected in the economic and cultural development of our villages, districts, regions, both our national republics, in the beautifying of our entire country, and in improving the living conditions of all people.

Comrades, everyday events testify to the fact that the present world is in a state of rapid flux; it is divided along class lines, and its development is a confrontation between detente and escalation of international tension in the form of revolutionary changes and counterrevolutionary attempts, in the alternation of political, economic, military and ideological forms of struggle. The world is changing for the better but not directly, not without pains and obstacles, not without various risks, digressions and traps. Mankind has no long-term prospect other than peaceful coexistence, but its implementation is not an automatic process and by no means depends only on us. In this struggle there are no breaks, but there are no measurable results at all times. Rather the progressive forces are achieving in this struggle not only successes, in their progress there are also stops and they cannot avoid even retreats and temporary defeats. Imperialism is gradually losing the historical initiative; it is forced to leave many a post and thus tries by every possible means to prevent the further progress of mankind toward socialism. The cause of socialism, peace and social progress is indivisible.

The growing force of this truth is realized not only by us but also by our enemies. Imperialists are threatening the world with the Soviet danger, and in everything revolutionary and progressive, in everything that is against their interests, they see the hand of Moscow. What is more, the just national liberation struggle is now called terrorism by them. What do they need this for? To cover up the crisis of the capitalist system, to increase their profits made on armaments. It is their fault that every year the world spends approximately $500 billion for military purposes; it is their fault that hundreds of millions are starving, suffer from illiteracy, disease and homelessness. The greatest indictment of imperialism, however, is the hazardous game with nuclear death--a hazard endangering the very existence of world civilization.

History has known many cases of mad men and adventurers capable of anything, but such a dangerous threat has been presented to mankind only by the world hegemonistic plans of the U.S. military-industrial complex. Imperialism is using all means available to undermine and disturb the socialist world. It is organizing various campaigns against us.

The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that in its history world socialism has undergone various tests. We, too, have had to overcome a certain complex crisis period on the path to the present. We have drawn lessons from it and we follow them. By doing so, we are protecting also our socialist community; we are protecting also that which is most valuable to the nations: peace and security. Such is reality since the socialist countries are making a decisive contribution to the prevention of war, because they are the standard bearers of the policy of detente and disarmament.

These final words were expressed at our congress by the great friend of our nations, Comrade Brezhnev, a man who liberated our homeland and spent in our country the last days of the war as well as the first days of peace. We are aware of the dependence of our plans on the actual situation in the world and of the need for effective protection of the peaceful borders of our state and of the whole socialist community. In the spirit of the legacy of the antifascist struggle and revolutionary traditions, in accordance with our responsibility for the cause of socialism, we will always proceed from the unity of national and internationalist interests. History confirms that the strengthening of the internationalist unity of our whole movement multiplies the forces of each and every communist and workers' party. This applies to peaceful work as well as to the defense of revolutionary achievements. This guides and will always guide us.

The last period has shown how important and difficult it is to assert the correct and just principles of relations between states, to apply them in practice and to turn them into a law of international life. Six years ago in Helsinki, Europe for the first time in its history grasped the historic opportunity to ensure at least on our continent peace and peaceable work between nations, Comrade Husak stated at the Helsinki conference on behalf of our people: In this growing awareness of the possibilities of living next to each other without a constant threat of war does not reside merely the practical need of present-day Europe but also the great hope of its future and, also, an example for others. The people of our country, who have been so hard hit by the horrors and sufferings of many armed conflicts in Europe, consider the policy of peace and cooperation among nations as the pillar of our foreign political activity. We have remained faithful to these aims and we proceed in their spirit at the Madrid meeting too.

Comrades, since spring 1945, 36 years have elapsed. Time has not weakened but on the contrary has confirmed the lasting validity and vitality of that date's basic values, especially the importance of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. It was our only hope in the difficult days of occupation. It was cemented by blood shed jointly. It has grown from respect for the eternal memory of Soviet soldiers who paid for our freedom with their own lives. Through a free expression of the will of the people it was made possible to put an end to hated capitalism and to embark on a socialist path. It saved our country from interference by international imperialism. It helped us to confront the consequences of the policy of sanctions and embargo. It was our support in socialist construction. It made it possible for us to overcome more than one tough obstacle. It shielded our country from the threat of counterrevolutions. It helped us to resolve the problems of the seventies, and it is the guarantee of the security and further development of our state today also.

We now recollect the 11th anniversary of the signing of the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. We see in it the expression of the most important historic experiences of our people, the decisive support of revolutionary achievements.

It also constitutes the foundation stone of the certainties of our future. In the daily rush of tasks and duties, worries and joys, we sometimes do not even realize how radical are the changes we have experienced and are experiencing. But the path of 36 years was not an easy stroll. It did not contain easy tasks and easy periods. We were most successful when we did not allow a questioning of principles, did not confuse wishes and reality, when we succeeded actively in confronting manifestations of vacillation, helplessness and moaning, when we measured every step by the revolutionary values of the past and kept the great socialist ideals constantly in sight. By means of socialist construction our people created a great achievement of which we are justifiably proud. Armed with historic experiences and a realistic program for the years to come, we can approach the mastering of the current tasks with justified optimism and confidence.

[The Prague Radio version of Korcak's speech includes the following concluding passage not reported in the press version:

["Let us always celebrate the memorable May of 1945 in a calm and creative work. May its unforgettable legacy always live in the (?beauty) of our country, in the joyful life of our people, in the minds and deeds of present and future generations!

["Glory to the Soviet Army, the liberator, and to all heroes who fell for our freedom! [applause]

["May the friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet people, between our socialist states and fraternal communist and workers' parties, further develop and strengthen. [applause]

"Long live our dear homeland, the CSSR, and its leading force, the CPCZ! [applause]"]

Husak Issues Order

LD090527 Prague CTK in English 1514 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Prague, 8 May (CTK)--"The Czechoslovak people will never forget that the glorious Soviet Army, to which progressive mankind owes a debt of gratitude for the historic victory over fascism, came to the aid of the May uprising of the Czech people in the gravest moments, and completed the liberation of Czechoslovakia" said the order of the day, issued by President Gustav Husak on the 36th anniversary of the liberation.

The order paid tribute to the heroic Soviet soldiers who fought and fell for Czechoslovakia's freedom, and pointed out that in the past decade of socialist development, Czechoslovakia strengthened its relations of friendship, alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. Czechoslovakia has a firm place in the socialist community, and its defence capability and the full preparedness of its Armed Forces for the defence of socialism has increased.

"Thanks to the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, based on their unity, economic and defence strength, the world has been living in peace for 36 years. The principles of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation between countries with different social systems have taken deep roots in the mind of nations on all continents. The socialist states have become a support of the countries that have freed themselves from colonial subjugation and have embarked on a road of building a new, freed life."

"The most reactionary and most aggressive forces of imperialism headed by the United States refuse to reconcile themselves to the positive changes in the world, and are heightening international tension. By stepping up their arms buildup, they seek to alter the existing balance of forces and to win military superiority. They keep trying to impair the unity and internal stability of the countries of the socialist community and to halt the word-wide revolutionary process."

"For this reason, we will continue supporting actively, in firm unity with fraternal socialist countries and all progressive forces, the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union proclaimed at the 26th CPSU Congress. We will fight a persevering struggle for peace, international cooperation, freedom and independence of nations. At the same time, we will ensure constant growth of the defense capability of our state and allround preparedness of the Armed Forces, for the purpose of defending our country, socialism and peace in firm alliance with the Soviet Army and the armies of the other Warsaw Treaty countries," the order said.

Husak Gives Reception

LD100706 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2000 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the republic, gave a gala reception in the Representative Hall of Prague Castle today on the occasion of the Czechoslovak national holiday. It was attended by Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, and other members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee including Vasil Bilak, Vaclav Hula, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, Josef Korcak and Jozef Lenart; and secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee including Mikulas Beno, Jan Pojtik, Josef Haman, Josef Havlin and Jindrich Polednik.

Present also were members of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee Marie Kabrhelova and Oldrich Svestka; chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPCZ, Miroslav Capka; and other party officials and representatives of political, public, scientific and cultural life. Aleksandr Botvin, the Soviet ambassador, and representatives of the chief command of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states attached to the Czechoslovak People's Army and of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia were also present.

CPSL Reception in Bratislava

LD090624 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] The CPSL Central Committee, the Slovak National Council and the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic gave a gala reception in Bratislava tonight on the eve of the celebrations of the 36th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. It was attended by members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee including Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Peter Colotka, Slovak premier; Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Viliam Salgovic, member of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee and chairman of the Slovak National Council, and other officials. The heads of consular offices in Bratislava came to congratulate them on the occasion of the national holiday.

Greetings Messages Received

LD101652 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 10 May 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, have received more congratulations on the 36th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army.

Telegrams of congratulations were sent by the highest party and state representatives of Poland, the GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Cuba, Mongolia, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and Yugoslavia.

Telegram to Brezhnev

LD091012 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, sent a congratulatory telegram to the highest Soviet representatives on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the historic victory of the Soviet people over fascism and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the heroic Soviet Army. In a telegram to Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, they stressed that the Czechoslovak people nurture profound gratitude to their liberators, the valiant sons and daughters of the Soviet land, who gave their lives for a better tomorrow. The heroism of the Soviet people, who carried the main burden in the struggle against the hated fascism and who successfully defended their socialist homeland and brought freedom and peace to other nations of Europe, will remain indelibly inscribed in the history of mankind. In the minds and hearts of our people the unforgetable days of May, 1945 have become a lasting symbol of liberty, new life and the indestructable Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. The victory of the Soviet Union over fascism made it possible for our nations to embark on the course of building a new, just social order for themselves. Along the path of socialist construction, we have always leaned on the support and assistance of the Soviet Union, and have drawn strength from the steadfast friendship between our nations. The continuing strengthening and developing of it corresponds fully to the very interests and aspirations of our people, embodied in the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union of 1970 on which basis an all around cooperation between our two countries is successfully developing. Its basis is formed by the fraternal relations between our communist parties, founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, the unity of aims in building socialism and communism in the struggle for a lasting peace in the world.

The congratulatory telegram goes on to say that the Czechoslovak communists at their 16th congress evaluated, with the feeling of just pride, the results of fruitful Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation, which for our nations constitutes a solid basis on which the plans and long-term prospects of building an advanced socialist society in our country rest. We shall continue to strengthen and develop all around friendship, alliance and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The telegram stresses that the conclusions of the 26th CPSU Congress, which became an important historic event of the whole of progressive mankind, were received throughout our homeland with a broad response. The CPSU Congress fully demonstrated the creative force of real socialism, ideas of Marxism-Leninism, cohesion of Soviet society around the Leninist CPSU and its resolve to continue relentlessly in the building of communism and to wage a constant struggle for the consolidation of peace, relaxation of international tensions and disarmament. The new peace initiatives that resounded from the forum of the 26th congress have the full support of all Czechoslovak people. We highly value the fact, the telegram says in conclusion, that side by side with the Soviet Union and in unity with the other countries of the socialist community we are able to share in their realization.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH SOVIET UNION REVIEWED

LD092000 Prague CTK in English 0810 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] Prague, 9 May, (CETEKA)--Czechoslovakia's cooperation with the Soviet Union has a strong, positive effect on the structure and effectiveness of the national economy. Its results are evident in all industrial branches, agriculture, research and science, make it possible for the economy to develop in a plan-based way and give it long-term perspectives.

The growing intensity of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation can be also seen from trade figures: in 1970, the two countries exchanged goods worth 2,200 million roubles; in 1975 the volume was 3,500 million; and last year a full 7,000 million. The plan for this year is 7,700 million roubles.

The Soviet Union plays an irreplaceable role as Czechoslovakia's supplier of oil, natural gas, iron ore and other raw materials. In the years to come, it will supply Czechoslovakia with increasing quantities of equipment necessary for development of energy, chemical and metallurgical industries. Also to be increased are supplies of products of the Soviet electrical engineering industry, equipment for the metro system in Prague, machine tools, passenger cars, lorries and aircraft.

Czechoslovak industry will substantially raise its exports to the Soviet Union of complete production lines and equipment for chemical, oil, gas and food industries, electric locomotives, Tatra lorries, machine tools, forming machines, technical vessels, etc.

The program of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation in nuclear energy up to 1990 is of fundamental importance for Czechoslovakia at a time when it is increasingly difficult to obtain sufficiently large energy resources needed for economic development.

The program will make it possible for Czechoslovakia to build nuclear power plants with a total output of 12,000 mw in the next 15 years, i.e. 80 percent of the present output of classical power plants.

Czechoslovakia is also participating in the construction of the Khmelnitski nuclear power plant in the USSR. Scheduled for completion in 1984, the first unit will generate electricity which will be supplied also to Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. Of the 4000-mw output of the plant, Czechoslovakia will have 600 mw in exchange for its supplies of equipment.

New forms of cooperation are being increasingly used. For the years up to 1985, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union agreed on joint work on 328 projects which include development of new machinery and equipment, materials and technological processes.

Eighteen programs of specialization and cooperation in production were adopted.

An example of coordinated cooperation is an agreement under which the Soviet Union will produce chemicals requiring a large energy input (ammonia, synthetic rubber, etc.) in plants to be bult near its natural gas deposits. Czechoslovakia will obtain these products in exchange for paints, chemicals for the textile industry, and other products of the chemical industry branches requiring high qualification.

PRAGUE REPORTS POLISH SECURITY OFFICE ATTACKED

Polish Militia Statement

LD081956 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] The municipal directorate of the public security service in Otwock, a town of 40,000 people near Warsaw, has announced that last night a crowd of people attacked a public security service office at the Opole railway station. This occurred after members of the Polish public security service detained two young rowdies, who were assaulting travellers and throwing stones at them. Both of them have a record of violence. One of them broke a window in the service office and began to shout that he was being beaten by the police. A crowd of people immediately gathered in front of the office, blocked the exit, broke other windows and set the adjacent guard's box on fire. The enraged crowd refused to respond to repeated appeals and surrounded the building until the early hours of the morning.

Similar, though less serious, assaults on members of the public security service have taken place in various places in Poland lately as a result of very lax civic discipline as well as because of the influence of antisocialist propaganda spread by the Walsea trade union organization.

More on Events

LD100530 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] Detailed information about the attack on a public security service station in Otwock has been published in Warsaw today. As we had already announced, two youths had been detained at the local railway station by security organs on Thursday. After having been taken to the public security service station, they started to shout that they had been beaten up by policemen. A crowd of people gathered around the building, smashed windows and set the building on fire. More than 1,000 young people, some under the influence of alcohol, watched the fire. Some of the Otwock residents apparently succumbed to the psychosis provoked during the past few months by a systematic campaign waged by the Walesa trade union organization and its advisors such as Kuron and Michnik against the state and public security services with the aim of weakening them. It is characteristic that at the time when the station was set on fire, the so-called intervention commission of the Walesa trade union organization from Mazowsze issued a statement in which, contrary to the facts, it accused members of the public security service of having subjected the two detained hooligans to brutal treatment and demanded punishment of those guilty of such conduct, meaning, of course, members of the security service.

The situation in Otwock gradually calmed down early this morning. The security service building at the railway station has been completely destroyed. According to information provided by the chief of the municipal directorate, no one has been detained in connection with the events. The investigation of the case continues.

TRIBUNA LUDU says today that the events in Otwock are bound to raise indignation and concern. They should alarm public opinion and provoke a resolute protest from the public. This is because they constitute a threat not only to peace of the residents of Otwock and the suburbs of Warsaw but also to peace, order and security of the whole society.

RECOGNITION OF RURAL SOLIDARITY CRITICIZED

True Intentions Betrayed

AU081224 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Slovak 7 May 81 p 2

[CTK Warsaw dispatch: "Another Concession to Walesa's Trade Unions: The Polish People's Republic's Sejm Approved a Law on the Registration of So-Called Rural 'Solidarity'"]

[Text] Warsaw, CTK--A session of the Polish People's Republic's Sejm was held in Warsaw yesterday, in the presence of Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council, and Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers. The supreme representative body approved, among other things, five laws, of which the law on trade unions of private farmers is of particular consequence.

The Sejm approved this law, which permits the registration of the so-called independent, self-governing Trade Union of Private Farmers "Solidarity," under pressure by "Solidarity" leaders. It approved the law with the conviction, as Deputy F. Sadurski said in the Sejm, that it will contribute to alleviating social conflicts and tension in Polish rural areas and to reviving agricultural production. It approved the law also upon the "intercession" of the Catholic Church, which is one of the main ideological inspirers and protectors of Rural "Solidarity," because the private sector is the major base for spreading its world outlook and retaining and expanding its influence.

The law was approved after Rural "Solidarity" recognized the PZPR's leading role in building socialism and pledged not to operate as a political force. Some time ago similar promises had also been made by the leaders of so-called Walesa's trade unions. However, as their latest programmatic theses have shown, they "forgot" those promises very quickly and continue to assert a policy that brings about, in fact, a dual rule.

The true intentions of Rural "Solidarity," in which even large estate owners who employ hired labor can be members, are betrayed by its demand for legal guarantees for a permanent private land ownership and its further expansion (even though private farmers already till about 75 percent of all agricultural land). Following the example set by Walesa's trade unions, it also wants to concentrate on control of state bodies in running agricultural policy, while not saying anything, for instance, about mandatory deliveries of agricultural produce to the state.

Even Jan Kulaj, the 23-year-old chairman of Rural "Solidarity," makes no secret of the organization's true intentions and political ambitions. At the so-called merger congress of his organization in Poznan in March he publicly admitted its links with antisocialist forces associated among other things in the so-called Social Self-Defense Committee (KOR). He also made no secret of his organization's endeavor to effect the release of inveterate enemies of socialism, members of the "Confederation for an Independent Poland," who have been indicted for their antistate activities. He also attacked leading representatives of the United Peasant Party, who had reservations--as did the PZPR leadership--about this organization's founding.

TU Bill Poses Danger

LD081938 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 8 May 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] In Poland the bill on trade unions of individual farmers approved by Poland's parliament constitutes the danger of the coming into being of a broad front opposing the country's constitutional organs, this broad front being headed by the Solidarity union.

This was confirmed by a recent Solidarity bulletin which openly speculated on individual farmers being a factor in the process of removing the state monopoly. Membership in what is called the village Solidarity organization is open to owners of large farms as well as to people who are working for them as wage earners. This indeed is unprecedented in the history of the trade union movement in general. This implies, then, that village Solidarity is to represent and protect the economic and social interests of both landowners and farm laborers. But this certainly does not go together with any economic law. Their different position with regard to means of production and the results of their work determines their diametrically different interests.

In practice the new bill will strengthen the position of Poland's private farmers to the detriment of the country's state sector of agricultural production. Poland is the only country in the socialist world which has retained a prevailingly private sector in agriculture which is not very productive. The so-called village Solidarity demands legal guarantees of continuing private ownership of farmland and expects to participate in the process of shaping an agricultural policy. In other words, it desires to be in control of Polish agricultural production, the purchasing prices of agricultural produce included. The state is to be given a somewhat indefinite role.

Similar ideas of the role of the state are already to be found in a draft program of Solidarity [words indistinct] which endeavors to separate the interests of the state from those of the working people. And this is a concept which is at variance with the basic principles of the socialist system.

In view of the linkage of economy and politics, this causes justified concern whether the regeneration of Poland's society is of genuinely socialist character.

AUTHORITIES ARREST 'CHARTER 77' SUPPORTERS

'Seven Civil Rights Fighters'

AU081120 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 8 May 81 p 2

[Special DIE PRESSE report by "SMO"]

[Summary] Prague-Vienna--"The increasingly tough attitude of the CSSR authorities against signatories of the "Charter 77" civil rights declaration, as well as against persons who are close to them, reached a new high point on Wednesday; following house searches, seven civil rights fighters were arrested. They are Jan Bednar, Jan and Jiri Ruml, Karen Kyncl, Zbynek Fiser, as well as Olga and Ivan Havel, the sister and the brother of playwright Vaclav Havel who has been in detention since 1979."

It was because of the production of a Vaclav Havel play by the Vienna burgtheater, slated for June, that the CSSR authorities recently called off the scheduled guest performance of the Slovak Philharmonic Orchestra Choir within the framework of the Vienna Festival. The intensified campaign against the dissidents in the CSSR, most of whom have signed the "Charter 77," has been making itself felt for several months already. Before the CPCZ party congress more than 30 civil rights fighters were detained or summoned to the police, but at that time most of them were released after long questioning. Among them were the now arrested Jan Bednar, Jiri Ruml, and Ivan Havel. In connection with the intensified measures against the dissidents who are still at large it is noteworthy that an official "Commentary on the Penal Code" was issued on Wednesday in Prague, which provides an exceedingly strict interpretation of socialist laws.

24 Signatories Arrested

NC081250 Paris AFP in English 1153 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Prague, 8 May (APF)--A total of 24 signatories or sympathizers of the human rights movement Charter-77 were under detention today either here in Brno or in Bratislava, reliable independent sources said.

The 24 are being questioned in connection with the arrest on April 28 of two French nationals, Francoise Anis and Gilles Thonon, accused of transporting "documents and financial resources for Czechoslovak citizens engaged in subversive activities".

Seven Charter-77 supporters under arrest in the capital were named by friends yesterday as Olga and Ivan Havel--wife [as received] and brother of jailed playwright Vaclav Havel--Jan Bednar, Jan and Jiri Ruml, Karel Kyncl and Zbynek Fiser.

The day after the arrest of the two French citizens, Czechoslovak authorities ordered a crackdown on "subversive acts".

In an open letter today to the Federal Assembly and to Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal, the human rights group protested at "illegal repression of sympathizers and signatories of Charter-77".

The letter accused authorities of "attempting to frighten the defenders of human rights" in Czechoslovakia.

Meanwhile, in an open letter to Soviet Nobel Prize winning physicist Andrei Sakharov to mark his birthday, Charter-77 spokesmen Vaclav Maly, Bedrich Placak and Jaroslav Sabata paid tribute to his "courageous fight for a dignified life for his fellow citizens". The letter added that Mr Sakharov, assigned for over a year to internal exile in Siberia, was a "source of inspiration" to Charter-77.

SOLDIERS PROTECT BORDER WITH FRG AGAINST GUNMAN

AU081150 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 7 May, on page 3, carries a 2,200-word report by Jiri Stano, entitled "With You, My Country! Until the Very Last Breath" and describing an incident on the CSSR-FRG border this January. The report describes the changing of patrols in a "front-line unit of the border guards on the edge of a forest several hundred meters from the state border with the FRG; on the other side is the city of Cheb, 3 kilometers away." The report quotes Maj Alois Janos, the unit's commander, and others on the character of Jozef Ludas, a soldier of Hungarian nationality from Tvrdosovce in Slovakia who had served with the unit until his death on "21 January 1981 while guarding the borders of his country, in a field at a place called Pelhrimov ponds, at 0525."

The incident started, the report states, when a butcher going to work from his home in "Dolni Pelhrimov, a settlement that is actually regarded as almost a suburb of Cheb," looked "over the fence down toward the ponds. Immediately behind them flows a small stream skirted by birches. That was where the border territory started. The ploughed field, covered by a 10-centimeter layer of snow, rose placidly toward the horizon, where one could see a tower on the 'green hill.' The black contours of the forest were to the left. The border was near." The butcher--Karel Ostrcil, who had cooperated with and assisted the border guards for several years--saw "a shadow of a figure near the dam between the second and third ponds." He called out, asking what the figure was doing, and receiving no answer, he went back into the house and called the border unit. An alarm patrol, consisting of the soldiers Ludas and Kubinec and the dog Maro, was sent out in a cross-country vehicle to the Ostrcil home, where they were told that "a man had jumped over the stream and run up the field toward the border."

The report describes how the two soldiers silently followed the man, how they vainly tried to make their receiver-transmitter work and then just dropped it, and finally how they reached the man, who "was crouching low. The dark silhouette of the figure clearly showed against the snow. The field was terrifyingly flat, nowhere a place for shelter. Ludas tore the machine gun off his shoulder. He released the dog and shouted: 'Halt!' Immediately after that he fired a burst into the air. Kubinec did the same. And then something happened which neither of the border guards expected. The figure suddenly rose to one knee, and unexpectedly a long burst of machinegun fire flashed out from it. Ludas and Kubinec returned the fire at lightning speed without hesitation," the report states, and then describes the wounding of the dog and the vain attempts to save the wounded Ludas by Kubinec and the medics. The report adds: "While Lubas was being carried to the ambulance, Lieutenant Kupec and the soldier Kubinec stealthily crept toward the border violator, with the safety catch of their machineguns released. His body lay motionless, face down in the snow. He had paid for his crime with his life."

FINNISH FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES FOR OFFICIAL VISIT

LD101022 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0900 GMT 10 May 81

[Text] Paavo Vayrynen, minister of foreign affairs of Finland, arrived in Prague by air today for an official visit to Czechoslovakia. He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, and by other personages.

BILAK WELCOMES ANGOLA'S LARA ON ARRIVAL FOR VISIT

LD081104 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Lucio Lara, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, arrived in our republic today for a friendly visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The Angolan guest was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport in Prague by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other party officials.

CHNOUPEK SENDS MESSAGE ON DISARMAMENT TO WALDHEIM

LD090523 Prague CTK in English 1534 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Prague, 8 May (CTK)--Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek sent a letter to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim in connection with the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, voicing the conviction that despite the complex international situation, detente has remained a viable, irreplaceable process.

The only passable way is to continue the policy of strengthening peace and international security, and of developing mutually advantageous cooperation between states, the letter said, and underlined the great importance of the new Soviet peace proposals outlined at the 26th CPSU Congress.

Realization of this initiative would mean a decisive step toward consolidating the structure of peace and international security, and would make it possible to achieve progress also in the sphere of disarmament.

Minister Chnoupek said in the letter to Kurt Waldheim that the approach of the Soviet Union accords fully with the efforts of Czechoslovakia which expressed its stand on the problems of disarmament in its draft declaration on international cooperation to achieve the objectives of disarmament, adopted by the 34th session of the UN General Assembly.

As regards the preparations for the second session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, to be held in 1982, Czechoslovakia as a member of the preparatory committee considers it as most important for states to seek agreement on practical measures to halt the arms race and to achieve disarmament, to speed up the present disarmament talks, and to open negotiations on questions which are not yet being considered.

The disarmament session should be a forum for a comprehensive exchange of views on the present situation as regards arms limitation and disarmament.

Czechoslovakia believes that the drawing up of a general disarmament program, balanced and realistic, would help activate disarmament talks, Chnoupek pointed out, and said that talks on measures provided for in the program should be guided by generally adopted principles, particularly the principle that the security of none of the parties must be adversely affected.

It is also the belief of Czechoslovakia that the second session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament should decide to convene a world disarmament conference, and to create a mechanism for its thorough preparation.

BENO CHAIRS SESSION OF REGIONAL PARTY SECRETARIES

AU081324 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 May 81 p 1

["Z"-signed report: "Statewide Consultation of Regional Secretaries"]

[Text] Prague, 6 May--On Wednesday a statewide consultation of political-organizational secretaries of regional CPCZ committees and the city party committees in Prague and Bratislava devoted to current issues concerning the party's course of action after the 16th CPCZ Congress was held in Prague. It was chaired by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Mikulas Beno.

The consultation was addressed by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Jindrich Polednik, who spoke about the preparation of general elections to representative bodies.

LIBERATION DAY CELEBRATED IN BERLIN 8 MAY

Leaders Attend Ceremony

LD090700 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1530 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Berlin, 8 May (ADN)--The fraternal alliance, indestructible for all times, of the peoples of the GDR and the USSR, confirmed by the 10th SED Congress as a great achievement, was the main theme of the ceremony to mark the 36th anniversary of the liberation from Hitlerite fascism by the glorious Soviet Army on Friday evening in Berlin. The traditional ceremony convened by the SED Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the National Front in the German State Opera in Unter den Linden paid tribute to the fraternal bond with the Soviet Union, firmly established on that historic day, 8 May 1945, as a stable foundation for the security and the success of the GDR in shaping developed socialist society.

Welcomed with loud applause were Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, the members of the Central Committee Politburo, Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber, as well as other members of the party and state leadership.

Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, gave the main address.

Together with representatives of the USSR and its army the leading GDR figures took their places on the presidium. The symbol of the liberation act, the Soviet soldier with a child in his arms, standing as the monument to the fallen Soviet heroes in Berlin-Treptow, formed together with the state flags of the two fraternal countries as the worthy decoration on the stage. The playing of the USSR and GDR national anthems began the ceremony which was attended by Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph and Horst Sindermann, and members and candidate members of the Central Committee Politburo Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Konrad Naumann, Alfred Neumann, Harry Tisch, Paul Verner, and Werner Jarowinsky, Inge Lange, Guenter Schabowski and Gerhard Schuerer.

Present were the president of the National Council of the National Front, Prof Erich Correns, the deputy chairmen of the Council of State, Dr Manfred Gerlach, and Gerald Goetting.

The guests included deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, other members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee, members of the Council of Ministers, of the Presidium of the People's Chamber and of the Council of State, leaders of the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front including the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, as well as generals and officers of the GDR Armed Forces.

Guests at the ceremony included Petr Abrasimov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to the GDR; Gen Mikhail Zaytsev, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG); Gen Ivan Shavrov, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty states in the NVA of the GDR; Col Gen Ivan Gubin, member of the Military Council and head of the Political Administration of the GSFG; other high-ranking military men from the Soviet Army as well as the delegation of the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR which is in the GDR for the liberation anniversary led by the chairman of the Kaluzhskaya Oblast executive committee, Ivan Frolkin.

Meritorious workers, veterans of the labor movement, distinguished intellectual and cultural workers as well as other representatives from social life attended the ceremony. Heads of diplomatic missions accredited to the GDR also were present.

[East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German at 1200 GMT on 8 May carries a similar report which adds at this point: "The ceremony was also attended by the ambassadors of the community of socialist countries, including Maciej Wirowski, ambassador of the People's Republic of Poland to the GDR."]

The main address was followed by the joint singing of the Internationale. The Berlin State Orchestra, led by musical director Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, then played Sergey Prokofiev's seventh symphony. The brilliant performance of this optimistic, melodious work written in 1951-52 as a "classical symphony," and dedicated to the youth of his homeland drew loud applause.

Honecker Greets Brezhnev

LD090634 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1722 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Berlin, 8 May (ADN)--"The victory of the peoples of the Soviet Union over fascism opened up a new chapter in the worldwide fight by the forces of peace, social progress and national liberation. It also gave our people the opportunity to shape anew its future. The heroism and willingness to sacrifice by the Soviet people will remain unforgotten for all times." This is noted in a state telegram from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR Council of State chairman, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, to Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

In three and a half decades of peace, the Soviet people, under the leadership of Lenin's party, had carried out a communist development which filled all progressive people with joy and justified pride. At a time when aggressive imperialist circles were fanning war hysteria and the arms race, the USSR proved itself to be the most influential and powerful champion of world peace, the telegram emphasizes.

The initiative for safeguarding peace, announced by the 26th CPSU Congress, the telegram continues, imbued the fight of the peoples with new desires to prevent a nuclear war, to consolidate international security and stop the arms race.

The GDR supported fully and wholeheartedly the CPSU's peace program. In the fraternal alliance with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community it would continue to work actively for the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and the safeguarding of peace.

The SED and the GDR people would be constantly guided by the idea that the close alliance with the USSR was and remained the basis and guarantee for the further successful socialist development in the GDR. "Hence, it fills us with joy and satisfaction that the fraternal relations between our parties, states and peoples are developing overall and dynamically on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and have attained such a high level."

Soviet Message Received

LD090608 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Ustinov today congratulated the soldiers of the National People's Army [NVA] on the 36th anniversary of the liberation from Hitler fascism. In a telegram to Minister for National Defense Heinz Hoffmann, he wished all NVA members further success in the consolidation of the fraternal alliance of the peoples and armies of the Warsaw Treaty organization.

NATIONAL FRONT VICE PRESIDENT IN WARSAW FOR TALKS

AU082040 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 May 81 p 5

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--Upon invitation of the All-Polish Committee of the Front of National Unity, Werner Kirchhoff, vice president of the National Council of the GDR National Front, visited Warsaw for 2 days. Wit Drapich, deputy chairman of the committee, reported on topical tasks of the Front of National Unity. Werner Kirchhoff explained the tasks of the GDR National Front following the 10th SED Congress and for preparing the elections to the People's Chamber, the Berlin City Assembly and the bezirk assemblies on 14 June. An agreement was reached to continue the exchange of ideas and views.

WALESA'S UNION INTENDS TO INFLUENCE 'STATE POWER'

LD081538 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1410 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 8 May (ADN)--The intention of Solidarity leaders to achieve direct influence in the organs of state power of the People's Republic of Poland was announced by their leader, Walesa, at a press conference in Gdansky. He said that "competent members of Solidarity" ought "at the appropriate time" to enter into the Sejm and Government of the People's Republic of Poland.

He justified this aim of the counterrevolutionary forces with the statement that in the opinion of Solidarity leaders the "personnel changes" in the PZPR and the Polish Government were "still inadequate."

SOLIDARITY STRIKE THREAT IN KIELOE REPORTED

LD101402 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1251 GMT 10 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 May (ADN)--According to PAP, Solidarity leaders are preparing new strike actions in the transport enterprises in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski, in the Kieloe Voivodship. Solidarity is aiming to force the dismissal of the director of the town's transport enterprise through a strike. The industrial trade union of the enterprise has objected to this blackmail demand and has condemned the collaboration between Solidarity and the local state functionaries, as a result of which three bus drivers have lost their jobs for refusing to take part in a Solidarity warning strike.

ADN ON POLISH PAPER ACCOUNT OF OTWOCK INCIDENT

LD101316 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1122 GMT 10 May 81

[Text] Berlin, 10 May (ADN)--According to Western news agencies there was a serious incident in Poland on Friday, 8 May. The police station in Otwock near Warsaw, which had been besieged for 24 hours, was set on fire by supporters of Solidarity. The provocateurs prevented the fire brigade from putting out the fire. The building was completely burnt down. Late in the evening rowdies completely tore down the burnt out remains of the building using hammers and railway sleepers.

As eye-witnesses reported, among the mob was the counterrevolutionary oppositionist Kuron, who makes himself out to be a so-called "trade union adviser."

On Friday evening, Polish television exhorted all citizens of the town to be calm. The party newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU wrote in a commentary on Saturday that the incident in Otwock has aroused anger and anxiety. The incident was not only a threat against calm in Otwock and the whole area around Warsaw but also a threat to calm, order and security in the whole country. However, the paper's admission that the serious incident could, perhaps, have been caused by "incorrect behavior by the police" seems incomprehensible.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION TALKS CONCLUDED WITH FINLAND

LD071017 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1856 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Helsinki, 6 May (ADN)--The GDR and Finland will deepen their cooperation, especially in the engineering, chemical, electrical engineering, electronics industries and in medical engineering. The relevant agreements were made at a meeting which ended in Helsinki on Wednesday, 6 May of the intergovernmental commission to develop economic, industrial and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and Finland. Both sides affirmed their governments' interest in continuing and promoting the favorable development of bilateral trade and economic relations. They said that the implementation of the economic agreements between the GDR and Finland was an effective contribution to the realization of the principles enshrined in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

SOVIET AMBASSADOR GIVES PARTY ON SOVIET PRESS DAY

AU081305 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 May 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On Tuesday in Berlin, Petr Abrasimov, USSR ambassador in the GDR, gave a cocktail party on the occasion of the day of the Soviet press, radio and television. His invitation was honored by Guenter Schabowski, SED Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chief editor of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND; other members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee; GDR journalists, as well as press attaches and correspondents accredited to the GDR. In his toast Ambassador Abrasimov underlined the importance of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, and paid tribute to the great role of the mass media of both countries in further strengthening the fraternal alliance between the two parties, states and peoples. Guenter Schabowski conveyed the congratulations of the SED Central Committee and the GDR press to the Soviet colleagues. He underlined the firm determination of GDR journalists to contribute in the spirit of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress to deepening the fraternal relations between the GDR and USSR in the struggle for strengthening socialism and securing peace.

ARMY EVALUATES DECISIONS OF 10TH SED CONGRESS

AU081335 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 May 81 pp 1-2

[ADN report on a joint meeting of the Collegium of the Ministry for National Defense and the Secretariat of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army (NVA) on 6 May]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On Wednesday a joint meeting of the Collegium of the Ministry for National Defense and the Secretariat of the NVA Political Main Administration centered on the tasks for evaluating the decisions of the 10th SED Congress in the NVA, the border troops and the civil defense on a long-term basis. The meeting was headed by Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, SED Central Committee Politburo member and Minister of National Defense.

The participants discussed and adopted a plan which demands all heads, commanders, chiefs and political organs to creatively implement the decisions of the party congress. This above all includes, in close connection with study of the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress, to deeply penetrate the trend-setting ideas and the political and theoretical contents of the documents of the highest SED forum and to deduce specific conclusions for the spheres of responsibility in the period 1981-85.

In accordance with the class assignment of the 10th SED Congress the further increase in the fighting strength and the combat readiness of the groups of units and formations is considered the most important concern of the army members and the border soldiers. By exerting every effort such an increase in performance is to be achieved in all fields so that the exact fulfillment of all tasks in the framework of the socialist military coalition is guaranteed and the demands of the 1980's are met.

For this aim the leadership activity must be qualified and the work of the commanders, staffs and political organs must be even more concentrated on the demands of modern combat. The main thing is to achieve high results in all fields by an efficient communist education and by further intensifying combat training, for instance by improving the education and training methods, and to still more consistently measure one's own achievements by the yardstick of the Soviet comrades in arms. Here the experiences of the "comradeship-in-arms 80" and the "Soyuz-81" should be used comprehensively.

Moreover, science, and in particular the most recent findings of Soviet military science, must still more increasingly permeate all military affairs and result in higher quality and effectiveness, in all fields. Finally, Army Gen Hoffmann said that the 10th SED Congress had provided all army members, border soldiers and civilian employees with a purposeful orientation toward the reliable protection in further building the developed socialist society and in guaranteeing peace. He said that as in industry, agriculture and the other social fields the initiatives and the great readiness for performance must also be used in the NVA, the Border Troops and the Civil Defense in order to master the second training semester with exemplary results in political and combat training and thus to establish a good starting position for the 1981/82 training year in all fields. At the same time attention must constantly be paid to gradually improving the service and living conditions.

Radio Report

LD082348 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] The tasks of the National People's Army, the Border Troops and the Civil Defense of the GDR after the 10th SED Congress were at the center of a joint discussion between senior staff of the Defense Ministry and the Secretariat of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army. The participants decided on a plan which demands the creative realization of the party congress resolutions. A further increase in fighting strength and operational readiness is described as the most important concern. In all fields, a growth of achievement must be accomplished which would allow all the tasks within the framework of the socialist military coalition to be fulfilled with exactitude. Defense Minister Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann said the 10th party congress gave all members of the army, the Border Troops and the Civil Defense a clear indication of how to reliably protect the further establishment of the developed socialist society and how to secure peace. Just as in industry, agriculture and other areas of society, the National People's Army, too, should make use of the initiatives and great willingness to achieve more from its members in order to complete the second half of the training year with exemplary results.

GENERAL KESSLER DISCUSSES MILITARY POLITICAL QUESTIONS

AU091336 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 May 81 p 2

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)--On Wednesday in the Potsdam club of the association of people employed in film and television, Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy minister of national defense and head of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army (NVA), discussed current questions of military policy following the 10th SED Congress. Referring to questions from the participants, he stressed that the imperialist course of confrontation demands revolutionary vigilance and readiness to strengthen and protect worker-peasant power on the part of all GDR citizens. Here the people employed in film and television have responsible tasks. Through their specific artistic means they must above all illustrate socialism's triumphant nature and its worthiness to be defended, show the complicated and contradictory character of the international situation and unmask the intensified preparations for aggression by imperialism.

Colonel General Kessler affirmed that the NVA members will continue to exert their strength to further consolidate and develop the socialist fatherland.

JOINT EXERCISE WITH USSR TO BE HELD 10-16 MAY

LD091746 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] In Hungary joint command and staff exercises will be held by designated units of the Hungarian People's Army and the USSR's Southern Group of Forces temporarily deployed in Hungary from tomorrow through next Saturday. The exercises, which are part of the training plan, will be conducted by Lt Gen Istvan Olah, the deputy minister of defense.

SOVIET DIPLOMATS, MILITARY MEN ATTEND CEREMONY

LD092006 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 9 May (MTI)--A wreathlaying ceremony was held on Budapest's Gellert Hill at the Liberation Monument to mark the 36th anniversary of the victory over fascism. On behalf of the Budapest Embassy of the Soviet Union, Ambassador V.Y. Pavlov, ambassador-counsellor V.L. Musatov and Major-General A.A. Popov, military and air attache, laid flowers of tribute to the base of the monument. On behalf of the Soviet Southern Army troops temporarily stationed in Hungary, Colonel-General V.I. Sivenok, commander, and senior officers of the military council laid wreaths.

LEADERS MEET WITH FINNISH FOREIGN MINISTER

Arrival of Vayrynen

LD090720 Budapest MTI in English 0603 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 7 May (MTI)--Following an invitation from Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja, Paavo Vayrynen, foreign minister of the Finnish republic, arrived in Hungary for an official visit on Thursday.

Ministerial Talks Begin

LD090722 Budapest MTI in English 1016 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 7 May (MTI)--Official Hungarian-Finnish foreign ministerial talks opened in Budapest on Thursday. At the discussions marked by a cordial atmosphere, the two foreign ministers reviewed bilateral relations and concurred that these are exemplary in every sphere.

Following the discussions, Pal Losonczi, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, received Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen. Also present at the cordial meeting were Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja, Tivadar Matusek, Hungarian ambassador to Helsinki, and Osmo Vainola, Finnish ambassador to Budapest.

In the evening Frigyes Puja hosted a dinner in honor of the Finnish foreign minister.

Lazar Receives Vayrynen

LD090724 Budapest MTI in English 1751 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 8 May (MTI)--Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja and his Finnish colleague Paavo Vayrynen concluded the official discussions in Budapest on Friday. They reviewed some important questions of the international situation paying distinguished attention to issues of international peace, disarmament and detente and within that to European security and cooperation.

After conclusion of the foreign ministerial talks, in the afternoon Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar received Paavo Vayrynen.

Details of Talks

LD092016 Budapest MTI in English 1716 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 9 May (MTI)--Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen, who is currently on an official visit to Hungary at the invitation of Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja, began his Saturday programme in the province. He called at the Vorosmarty cooperative farm in west Hungarian Szekesfehervar where he got acquainted with the work going on in the agricultural cooperative and with the life of its members. In the afternoon he visited the famous sights of Szekesfehervar, the seat of County Fejer.

In the evening the Finnish foreign minister attended a cocktail party hosted by Osmo Vainola, ambassador of the Republic of Finland to Budapest. Here he met Hungarian political and economic personalities and specialists involved in Hungarian-Finnish cooperation.

According to information gathered by MTI correspondent, the official negotiations between Frigyes Puja and Paavo Vayrynen were marked by a friendly atmosphere. They reviewed timely international questions and the state of Hungarian-Finnish relations. On most of the topics taken up during the discussions over the international problems, the sides had identity of views or had converging stands. The ministers voiced concern over the standstill experienced in the provess of detente. They underlined that in the interest of positive development, it is highly important that Soviet-U.S. talks start as soon as possible.

Great emphasis was laid on the two countries' commitment in favour of European security and cooperation. In the context of the Madrid meeting, the foreign ministers called it important that it end successfully and advance-making agreement be concluded, including organization of a European military detente and disarmament conference.

The Hungarian foreign minister lauded the initiatives made at the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party which extend a realistic basis for rational agreements.

The Finnish foreign minister expressed his country's interest in advancing the cause of disarmament, reducing the level of military confrontation and in strengthening international peace and security.

The Hungarian and Finnish foreign minister spoke with satisfaction about the development of their countries' bilateral relations. The Hungarian-Finnish cooperation is developing successfully and dynamically in every sphere. Considerable progress has been registered also in the expansion of economic cooperation. The partners discussed concrete proposals aimed at developing Hungarian-Finnish relations, particularly strengthening their economic cooperation. These suggestions will be forwarded to the organs concerned for their consideration.

Paavo Vayrynen invited Frigyes Puja for a return visit. The invitation was accepted.

Departure 10 May

LD101742 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 10 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 10 May, (MTI)--Paavo Vayrynen, foreign minister of the Republic of Finland, left Budapest on Sunday at the end of his official visit here. At the Ferihegy Airport he was seen off by his host Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja. Also present were Tivadar Matusek, Hungarian ambassador to Helsinki, Osmo Vainola, Finnish ambassador to Budapest, and Vaclav Moravec, ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to Budapest.

LAZAR RECEIVES MACEDONIAN REPUBLIC'S PRESIDENT

LD090601 Budapest MTI in English 1905 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 8 May (MTI)--Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, received Blagoj Popov, president of the Executive Council of the Macedonian Socialist Republic, in Budapest Friday. The cordail, friendly meeting was attended by Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Istvan Roska, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Milan Veres, ambassador to Budapest of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

PZPR MEDIA DELEGATION MEETS WITH MSZMP 4-8 MAY

LD092010 Budapest MTI in English 1026 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 8 May (MTI)--Invited by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, a delegation of workers of the press, radio and television department of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, headed by Tadeusz Zareba, deputy head of the department, visited Hungary from May 4 to 8. The delegation studied the theoretical and practical questions pertaining to the party's guidance of mass communication media.

VERESS, FRG MINISTER SIGN TRADE PROTOCOL IN BONN

LD082048 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 8 May (MTI)--Hungarian Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress and Dr Otto Graf Lambsdorff, minister of economics of the Federal Republic of Germany, signed in Bonn the protocol of the 5th session of the Hungarian-FRG Mixed Committee of Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation. The ministers exchanged views about the current state and prospects of bilateral economic relations. They established that for the first time last year the volume of bilateral trade surpassed 4,009 million DM. In keeping with the jointly approved commercial policy objectives, trade developed dynamically and as Hungary managed to export more than import, the debit side of the Hungarian foreign trade balance continued to shrink. The cooperation contacts between the enterprises of the two countries continued to expand. The sides agreed that there are still many untapped possibilities for cooperation in the machine engineering and telecommunications, chemical, pharmaceutical industries, energy generation and aluminium industry. They stressed mutual interest in further developing economic relations. The ministers establshed that the economic relations bear growing importance and may help improve the international political atmosphere. Furthermore the sides exchanged views about the state of the world trade: Both took stand in favour of lifting the protectionist trade barriers. In connection with East-West economic relations they underlined the mutual interest of the two countries.

Peter Veress met with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

During his stay he also paid a visit to Krupp concern in Essen and had talks with Berthold Beitz, chairman of the supervising committee. The Hungarian minister also met with Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the Association of German Chambers of Commerce and Industry. They exchanged views about the current state and future of the cooperation between Hungarian and West German companies.

Peter Veress returned to Hungary on Friday.

REPORTAGE ON OTWOCK MO STATION 'INCIDENT,' FIRE

Militia Report Describes Attack

LD081950 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Capt (Witold Zawadzki), the press spokesman of the Warsaw Command of the Citizens' Militia [MO], gave a report to a PAP journalist concerning an incident which occurred yesterday at a railway station in Otwock. According to him, the whole story was as follows: About 1600 two men, motivated by hooliganism, threw stones at the railway militia station in Otwock. The militiaman present at the station arrested the two rowdy individuals who, it appeared, were under the influence of drink. They were Wladyslaw N., aged 26, with a previous record of assaulting a militiaman, and Slawomir G., aged 19, also with a previous record of hooliganism. After the two men were taken to the [militia] station they broke the window and started calling for help, shouting that the militiamen were assaulting them.

A crowd gathered round the building, breaking more windows and attempting to set fire to the railway militia premises. In this situation the militiamen on duty called for reinforcements from the militia headquarters in Otwock and summoned an ambulance and the prosecutor. Solidarity representatives active in Otwock also arrived on the scene. The doctor who arrived in the ambulance, seeing the rage of the arrested men, gave them sedatives and then decided that the older of the two ought to be transferred for examination to the Grochow Hospital, because while he was tearing the building apart he damaged his (?old plaster). The younger man was kept in custody at the Otwock headquarters.

In Grochow Hospital Wladyslaw N. was examined and the following diagnosis was issued: drunk, superficial injury to the face, slight bruising of the skin. At about 2030 he was taken to the Warsaw-Praga Poludnie district militia headquarters.

Capt (Zawadzki) stresses that the crowd besieged the railway militia headquarters throughout the night. There was no response to the pleas which were made. At about 0300 representatives of the Solidarity mediating commission of Mazowsze region arrived at Otwock. At their request, the prosecutor decided to suspend the temporary arrest of the two men, who were brought to the scene of the incident and shown to the crowd. People decided to leave the station at about 0400. [Words indistinct] voivodship prosecutor in Warsaw is conducting preliminary proceedings against the two men.

At the end of his report Capt [Zawadzki) stressed the positive role played during the (?prevention) of the incident in Otwock by Solidarity. In our 2300 bulletin we will give you a report by Solidarity representatives from Mazowsze region concerning the incident in Otwock.

We have been informed that the Citizens' Militia station at the railway station in Otwock was set on fire this afternoon.

Further on Militia Post Fire

LD082310 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Here is more information concerning the incident at the Otwock railway station. At 2100 we broadcast a report by Capt Witold Zawadzki, press spokesman of the Warsaw Command of the Citizens' Militia. We now relate to you a description of events as made during a press conference held at the headquarters of the Mazowsze Interfactory Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity. Participants in the events speak about the incident:

[Read by announcer] After our arrival in Otwock we saw that the Citizens' Militia post at the railway station was surrounded by about 500 people, mainly very young people. They were shouting that they were going to burn the building and demanded the release of the detained [as heard] and also punishment for the Citizens' Militiamen.

Members of the local Solidarity who took part in putting out the fire tried unsuccessfully to calm the young people.

Next we went to the headquarters of the Otwock Citizens' Militia where the second detained person, [as heard] who was also drunk and who had a black eye, was detained. At our request, the Otwock prosecutor decided to release the man and the militia carried out his order. Zbigniew Bujak also succeeded in obtaining permission (?from) Warsaw to release the other detained man. He was then brought by Bujak to Otwock.

After much persuasion we succeeded in calming the crowd at the station and induced the people to disperse. We do not know the reasons for the detention of these people as it was stated at the conference. The matter will have to be thoroughly investigated.

This much has been said by Solidarity. Meanwhile, about 1700 today, the Citizens' Militia post situated some 60 meters from Otwock railway station was set on fire. The fire spread from the felt-covered wooden roof and destroyed the interior and some equipment. Young people who gathered around the burned out premises knocked out [word indistinct] the windows. At about 1900, the of roof the Citizens' Militia post was again set on fire, completely destroying the premises. There were more than 1,000 people gathered around the building, residents of Otwock, with the majority of them being young people.

Results of Disturbances

LD091212 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] The Otwock parish deputy-elder, [name indistinct] stated that all was calm in the town today and normal life has resumed. The trains on the Otwock-Warsaw line are running normally. Excesses continued until 0100 this morning. The building of the Citizens' Militia [MO] station at the railway station was completely destroyed by fire. According to a report by the commander of the Otwock MO Command, there were no arrests of any participants in the events.

Member of the NSZZ Solidarity intervention commission for the Mazowsze region will begin working shifts in Otwock tomorrow. [Passage indistinct]

'Relative Calm' 9 May

LD092325 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] The events in Otwock have aroused a lot of emotions and anxiety in our community. From Thursday afternoon until one o'clock in the morning on Saturday, the police station there was under almost continous attack. There now remains only burned out rubble where the station stood. We have already reported relative calm in Otwock. Life in the town is going on normally and yesterday [9 May] the trains functioned without disruption. However, one incident has occurred. Unknown assailants burned down a wooden railroad passenger car which stood next to the remains of the police station.

Representatives of Solidarity's Mazowsez region have formed a vigilance group which is watching over the public order in the area of the railroad station. Solidarity is asking union members living nearby to join the group at the Solidarity office in Otwock, 15 Curie-Sklodowska Street.

Solidarity Officials Comment

LD091955 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1725 GMT 9 May 81

[Special correspondent's report]

[Text] The events in Otwock have been given nationwide importance.

The point is, however, that their real importance should be neither underemphasized nor overemphasized. We were talking this morning with Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity and Zbigniew Bujak, chairman of Solidarity in the Mazowsze region, on their way to the airport before their departure to Japan. Here is what Lech Walesa has to say:

[Begin recording] Until we know all the circumstances, until Mazowsze [words indistinct] has been from the beginning and is monitoring this matter; it would be difficult for me to say [?anything] since I could [?influence] one side or the other. Therefore, I cannot make any categorical statement now. My friend Zbyszek [Bujak] will make a statement first; next we will check with someone else, because perhaps [words indistinct] that one cannot be too precise. Only then will I be able to give my opinion. [?At present] I cannot. [end recording]

[Announcer] And here is Zbigniew Bujak speaking:

[Begin recording] Local conflicts of this kind can threaten us, and certainly may occur. We are aware of this. The Otwock conflict shows for the first time how these conflicts can be resolved without leading to serious clashes. For the first time, it teaches the organs of the MO [Citizens' Militia] and of the Ministry of Interior how to act in such complex situations. I think that the Otwock situation will be a good lesson in resolving conflicts of this kind for both sides.

[Question] Have any decisions been made on solving problems such as Otwock?

[Unidentified female speaker] Yes, these can be found in the communique which is being distributed today. There will be a Solidarity intervention office opened there which will carry out an indepth investigation of this case. It will obtain all the statements, and on this basis the situation will be evaluated and we will see to it that the guilty ones will be punished. At this point, one must remember that the entire thing began when the militia treated some drunks, who are nevertheless human beings, in a brutal fashion.

[Question] Can we expect that this will be an objective examination of the reports of both sides?

[Unidentified female speaker] I think that all the interviews and radio and television reports to date gave a good mark to the objectivity of our side, the Solidarity side. [end recording]

[Reporter] We went to Otwock today during a sunny midday. The town of 45,000 inhabitants is living a normal life. The streets are decorated with flags and are being filled by people out for a walk. Everyone wants to take advantage of the sun and of the work-free Saturday.

There are no signs of either tension or excitement. Near the platforms of the ever-busy railway station, a small group of town residents and nonresidents were viewing the remains of the building, the former building of the railway Citizens' militia. It was burned down late yesterday afternoon. So far, no one knows why this happened or who did it; there are only guesses.

This milita station, or rather a percentage of its personnel, did not have a good reputation in the past. Some people said that on-the-spot fines were often imposed on casual pedestrains, that those detained were often beaten, and that sometimes people can buy vodka there. These ideas were circulating among local inhabitants and they also reached the authorities.

Can this justify the burning down of the building? No, reply the inhabitants of Otwock when questioned. No, declare representatives of Otwock Solidarity... "We do not want those who did this to be taken for representatives of the inhabitants of our city." How then did all this happen?

The explosive ingredient was found in the bad reputation of the militia station, which has continued, and so, an incident of a typically hooligan character occurred. Two young drunks started a public disturbance. After they were detained, one of them began to yell that they were being beaten up. At a busy railway station there is no need to organize a crowd; it is there all the time.

You know the remaining story of the Thursday events from the reports in the mass media. Everyone agrees that representatives of Solidarity in the Mazowsze region made a great contribution to controlling the situation.

But why was the building, which was evacuated, burned down the next day? No one knows. Perhaps as vengeance for injustices inflicted or the mindless act of an alcoholic. No one saw the arsonists, and no one doubted they will be difficult to identify. All those interviewed agreed that there was no planned provocation and all agreed that had force been used on a large scale on that day, a great tragedy might have taken place.

[Announcer] In an appeal addressed to the inhabitants of Otwock, which has been posted throughout the city, the local Solidarity states that it is true that the militia intervention aimed at the detention of the two brawling youths was brutal, and that they were injured; however, it adds that the injuries were superficial. The appeal says that the truth will be revealed by the investigations and calls for witnesses to make statements. These statements will be received by representatives of Solidarity at the given address and also by the local prosecutor, who is carrying on the investigation under the supervision of the voivodship prosecutor. The entire truth will be presented to the nation.

We are now posing the most important question: How can such dangers be avoided in the future? We are talking to the chairman of the municipal People's Council, Zdzislaw Opasala, who has been holding the post since January.

[Begin Opasala recording] We thought it appropriate to establish direct contact, by housing committees and by councillors, with that part of the community which behaved agressively during the recent events in Otwock. It seems to us that this is possible in the present state of calm. We are especially interested in this because if there are deeply embedded problems in the part of the community which protested, we would like to pick these out and settle them. This is, I would say, the task for today. Colleague councillors are currently in Otwock. There are no incidents now: But we simply would like to act as soon as possible.

The next step, as we see it, is the meeting of the commission for law and order of the municipal People's Council, including the Presidium of the municipal People's Council, in order to make a short analysis, to draw conclusions from the events in Otwock, and to inform the council and the community. Apart from what I said, deputy chairman of the municipal People's Council, in cooperation with the Prosecutor's Office so that the information was full, and also we are trying to consult with councillors who were present at the events and appeal to the community to maintain moderation and calm in the town. [sentence as heard]

The community has been clearly upset by the events. It seems that we are moving toward calm, but we would like to eliminate tension in the town.

[Question] I understand. Would you gentlemen like to draw conclusions from the past as well, which means [words indistinct] why due to the incident which should have been eliminated in a simple way, it could lead to such serious anger and such crowds which accompanied the event? Do you think that conclusions should be drawn from the past, and perhaps from insufficient control of the operation of the station?

[Opasala] I do not know what the People's Council is going to say. However, I maintain that if due to the misunderstanding which exists between the community and the authorities--because it can be recalled that some issues from the past arise which were incorrectly settled--I think that it will be no trouble to return to them and clarify them in such a way that they leave no doubt.

[Question] Do you think that some permanent, more rigid than so far, control should be introduced by the municipal People's Council about the activity of executive organs and the operation of the Citizens' Militia [MO] post?

[Opasala] Yes, I see such a need. During my short term of office, I have already tried to introduce the forms to be used. I have met the inhabitants of Otwock through the housing committees: At each of these meetings, plenary or general, I have always brought up the subject of the authorities' attitude towards citizens and of citizens' attitudes to the authorities, not excluding MO organs. I am simply of the opinion that one must know the situation and know what the people expect of the authorities. One should also know how the authorities are dealing with citizens' problems.

Perhaps not everything has been fully explained, most certainly not. However, I think that in this way we must deepen the work of the municipal People's Council, beginning with housing and social committees, and going through councillors of the municipal People's Council and the Presidium of the municipal People's Council. I think that we must pay special attention to the way of settling of residents' complaints. If we organize this well with an efficient administrative organization for everyone in Otwock, then there will be no more incidents such as the one that took place in the recent past.

[Reporter] Do you think that this kind of control would be the main road leading to the construction of the status of authorities, who need it so very much? But this must be based on the belief that authorities are controlled by representatives of the nation.

[Opasala] Absolutely. I share this view, but I would like to add that this must be thoroughly honest, irrespective of whether it suits someone or not.

[Announcer] This was the chairman of the municipal People's Council in Otwock, Zdzislaw Opasala. [end recording]

Papers Comment on Otwock

LD111052 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 11 May 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Today the papers devote much space to the problem of the incidents that took place at Otwock.

Writing in ZYCIE WARSZAWY, Marek Przybylicz comments on the communique issued by the central command of the Citizens' Militia [MO]. Among other things, he says:

The sources of the conflict lie in the suspicions being directed against members of the MO, irrespective of whether they acted properly last Thursday or not. We might dislike them but we would like to be able to depend on their efficiency and effectiveness, and, primarily, on their credibility and legality. Anything that paralyzes the MO's work will eventually turn against us.

Commenting on the same subject, Jerzy Bielecki, writing in TRYBUNA LUDU, observes that the sense of full [words indistinct] calm and order should be inseparable from socialist renewal. People from the social margins should not be threatening us and an end should be put to all forms of lawlessness.

KANIA, JARUZELSKI, JABLONSKI AT VICTORY DAY EVENTS

Warsaw Theater Celebration

LD082250 Warsaw PAP in English 2053 GMT 8 May 81

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 8 May (PAP)--The 36th anniversary of victory over fascism and the 60th anniversary of the third Silesian uprising were celebrated here on the eve of Victory Day with the participation of veterans of the war and the uprisings.

The celebration at Warsaw's Teatr Polski was attended by top party and state leaders of the country with PUWP CC First Secretary Stanislaw Kania, President of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski and Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Moczar Address

LD082048 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1503 GMT 8 May 81

[Speech by Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBOWID] Supreme Council, at 8 May ceremony in Warsaw's Polski Theater to mark the 60th anniversary of the third Silesian uprising--live]

[Text] Dear guests, comrades, colleagues. During April, as we do every year, we are celebrating the anniversaries of the historical events during World War II, and we, members of ZBOWID, call April the month of national memories.

This year, the celebrations of the month of memories coincide with the 60th anniversary of the third Silesian rising, and for this reason there took place in Katowice and in Opole a number of local celebrations, scientific conferences and patriotic meetings of the population.

The press and other mass media devoted much space to the problems of the Silesian risings. There was an interesting publication entitled the Golden Plait, a Silesian songs book by Katarzyna Gertner. But Warsaw, and in particular, the people of Warsaw, urged by their feelings of esteem for our nation's past, decided that at today's gathering the participants in the Silesian risings should receive warm greetings and a cordial Warsaw-like handshake. [applause]

Dear guests. I wish to greet cordially First Secretary of the Central Committee of our party Comrade Stanislaw Kania, who has arrived here, because [applause] today is Stanislaw's nameday. The Supreme Council of ZBOWID and the members of ZBOWID wish him all of the best. [prolonged applause]

I welcome Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic Prof Henryk Jablonski. [applause]

I cordially welcome the Premier of the government, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski [applause]; I welcome Chairman of the Democratic Party Edward Kowalczyk [applause]; I welcome representatives of the Polish Episcopate, and priests--members of ZBOWID [applause]; I welcome the generals, officers, NCO's and soldiers of the Polish People's Armed Forces [applause]; I welcome representatives of Warsaw Enterprises; and all of us gathered here welcome most coridally the veterans of the Silesian uprisings, and with them, I welcome our brothers the miners. [applause]

I warmly and cordially welcome all the combatants of the World War II present here, those who at the side of our friendly Soviet Army removed the Hitlerite beast from his lair; those, who at the various battle fronts, fought for the fatherland's freedom.

The victory in World War II saved whole nations from the destruction which Hitlerism had in store for them. For us Poles, this was a day of liberation of our homeland and of delineating the frontiers along the ancient lines, on the Odra, the Nysa and the Baltic.

It was along these borders that Polish fighters, members of the uprisings, fought 60 years ago. Participants in the Silesian uprisings saw the new delineation of the Polish Republic's borders as the only road leading to Poland's future. They linked themselves with the lofty traditions of liberation which lasted throughout the period of the dismembering of Poland, during which the strongest call heard was that which said: for your freedom and ours.

It is true that the word internationalism was not yet in use, but what else was the involvement of so many Polish patriots in the cause of the great French Revolution? Or some dozen years earlier, Kosciuszko's and Pulaski's participation in the battles for the freedom of the United States of North America?

The deep links of the cause of Poland's freedom and the freedom of other nations is interwoven with a red thread through all our national uprisings, through the whole of the 19th century, through the 1905 revolution, throughout the Great October Socialist Revolution, through the year 1918, through the period of World War II, right up to contemporary times.

Our attitude toward the great anniversaries which we are celebrating today cannot lie only in reminiscences. Contemporary reflections on history should constitute the total sum of wisdom which should convey concepts which are very much alive. Every young generation must rethink and assimilate those (?aspects) of social wisdom which result from the experiences of the previous generations. Only then will the experiences of history become the roadsigns for future action. Equipped with a thorough knowledge of history, we can embrace the sense of what happened 60 years ago and that which was completed on 9 May 1945.

Dear comrades, colleagues. The return of the Polish state to the map of Europe in 1918 was an act of historical justice. At the same time it faced the Poles themselves with a number of questions of fundmental importance.

Every state must have its own reason for existence, its own place and its own functions in the international community. West Europe, terrified by the influence of the Russian revolution on the peoples' masses of the whole continent, saw Poland's function as a barrier, a cordon sanitaire. It was intended to safeguard the West against the spreading influence of the socialist revolution.

We know that bourgeois, landowners' Poland accepted this role, ignoring the dangers which threatened its infant independence. These dangers came not from the East but from the western borders.

It was Germany which took all possible steps, including the use of force, to retain the borders along the line of 1914.

During that epoch-making period, the problems of the defense of Poland's interests in the West was taken on by the hard-working people of Silesia and Wielkopolska. In the struggles of the inhabitants of upper Silesia for reunification with Poland the third Silesian uprising assumed a particularly important role, a special place in our history.

It was born as an expression of our spontaneous, yet determined opposition to the allies' proposals that the region subject to the plebiscite should be divided.

These proposals did not acknowledge the Polish character of these lands and removed the hopes for their reunification with the Polish state.

Thus, the uprising was a logical consequence of the development of events in upper Silesia after the end of the First World War. It accumulated the experience of the previous uprisings, the first in 1919, and the second in 1920. All of them constitutes a significant part of the general national struggle of Poles for the right to independent existence as a state.

It is worth stressing the organizational links and the ideological influences which linked the national liberation struggle of the people of Silesia with the armed struggle of the people of Wielkopolska at the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919.

Against the background of the Wielkopolska uprisings, the Silesian uprisings revealed on a greater scale the role of the class armed struggles for national liberation of the Polish population of the Prussian part of occupied Poland.

In upper Silesia, it was the oldest peoples masses that fought for Polishness: workers, peasants, who constituted the core of the Polish workers' movement. The spearhead of this movement was directed [words indistinct] political rule, as well as against the class rule.

The core of the national liberation and class struggles was revealed in Silesia with total force after the end of World War I, when the wave of radical feelings embraced wide masses of the population and thus became one of the motive forces for the Silesian uprisings.

The hopes of the people of upper Silesia for early reunification with Poland were blown away simultaneously with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles which provided for the determination of the future of these lands by the allies on the basis of a plebiscite. Thus, the Silesian uprisings became the proof of the deep patriotism of the population and of their will to be united with the motherland. They were, at the same time, an armed protest against German terror.

Today, we correctly underline the historical role of Wojciech Korfanty, the plebiscite commissioner and inspirer of the third Silesian uprising, whose individuality and patriotism have left a deep mark on events in [words indistinct].

The third Silesian uprising was not only an armed effort by upper Silesian workers and peasants. Behind the uprising's front, numerous activists took up organizational work in favor of the polonization [polonizowanie] of public life, in favor of restoring normal ecoromic life, the inauguration of Polish schools, and so on.

The Silesian uprisings, including the third, met with the lively reaction of the entire Polish people, who organized mass meetings throughout the republic to express their support for the Silesian people's struggles, and who mobilized the government for actions aimed at reunification of the territories under plebiscite with Poland.

The participation of about 5,000 volunteers, who traveled from all over the country to the regions where fighting took place in order to join the ranks of the insurgents who now totaled about 60,000, was another expression of support to the third Silesian uprising.

The Catholic clergy played an important role in the Wielkopolska uprising and the Silesian uprisings. The merits of the clergy in the struggle against Germanization and in defense of Polish national character and in the propagation of that character will remain forever a beautiful page in our national history of that period.

By a decision taken in October 1921, nearly one third of the zone where the plebiscite had been held was incorporated into Poland in the middle of 1923, but a great part of upper Silesia with a population of 800,000 Poles remained within Germany.

The third Silesian uprising was the climax of the struggle for the national liberation of upper Silesia. In those days, when an independent Polish state already existed, these uprisings were a confirmation and proof of the aspirations of popular masses for complete national integration. Contrary to the policy of the government, which was interested in pushing the eastern border of the state still further, the Silesian uprisings and the Wielkopolska uprisings once more paved the way for a return of the Polish nation to the ancient Piast land in the west.

Today, on the eve of the anniversary of the victory over criminal German imperialism and militarism, we bow deeply to the heroic Silesian insurgents. It was they who proclaimed the truth about the danger for Poland constituted by German nationalism and imperialism. Their fears, unfortunately, proved to be well founded in the tragic events of September 1939.

Depending on one's political views, one can of course have differing opinions on various politicians from various governments of the era between the two wars, but nothing can justify their blindness to the threat of German aggression from the first days of independence in 1918 up to the year 1939. The political result of this stance was the refusal to cooperate with the Soviet Union even when the Hitlerite army took positions also on our southern border, thus completing the encircling of Poland from three directions.

Only the progressive left-wing forces, the same forces which in the second half of the nineteen thirties were creating a popular front uniting communists, socialists, radicals, agrarians and democrats, correctly estimated the danger and tried to bring about an indispensible turn in the state's policy. Unfortunately, at that time the wheel of history was already turning with implacable consistency and purpose.

Despite an unfavorable political and military situation, despite a disproportion of forces, the Polish nation and its soldiers were the first in Europe to militarily oppose the Hitlerite aggressor. Our army fought with incomparable heroism and selfless devotion. It was supported everywhere by the population and, during the defense of Warsaw, also by the workers' battalions formed by communists and socialists.

We were defeated in the September campaign but the effectiveness of our resistance to the Hitlerite hordes, measured in terms of the duration of fighting and losses inflicted on the enemy, greatly exceeded the resistance force mustered later by more powerful and better armed states of Europe.

Veterans of World War II gathered in the ranks of ZBOWID wish to remind the young generation that our defeat in September 1939 was never seen as the end of the battle. To our nation this was only a lost battle, not a lost war. It is an historical fact that Poland did not [words indistinct] just as it did not bend before the enemy.

Polish soldiers took up the armed struggle on all the fronts of the Great People's War against Hitlerite fascism. In the West, the most esteemed leader of this struggle was at that time Gen Wlayslaw Sikorski, premier of the government-in-exile, a far-sighted politician who thought in realistic terms and who aimed at positive changes in Polish-Soviet relations. This year marks the first anniversary of the birth of General Sikorski and his ashes will rest in his native soil.

The will to fight and to struggle was expressed primarily in the Zwiazek Walki Zbrojnej [Union for Armed Struggle], which was commanded by the heroic soldier of the underground, Gen Stefan (Rozek-Wilk) Grot. Underground organizations--political and armed--of the people's movement and of the socialist movement were speedily set up. Immediately, the communists in Poland began to set up left-wing organizations. The political work of communists during the first period of occupation was of decisive importance for the creation of the Polish Workers Party, for the formation of its program and organizational structure.

The underground resistance movement in the occupied Polish territories was undoubtedly varied as regards politics. But it was united by hatred of the enemy, deep patriotism and the unflinching desire to fight. That is why in People's Poland, during the [words indistinct] years, the initiatives of ZBOWID members--participants in the liberation war, won permanent citizenship rights for the correct thought which united the nation. This means that the value of the blood shed for the fatherland must not be calculated by political criteria because every drop of this blood is equally precious and dear.

Dear guests. Victories like those which we are celebrating today do not come easy, through the smile of fortune or a caprice of history. They have been won through hard battles and the shedding of blood; they have been paid for in blood, in suffering and the lives of millions. But at the same time they remain forever in our history as a seal which marks all historical processes.

Our Polish contribution to the victory over Hitlerism, our participation, which is witnessed forever by the borders on the Odra, the Nysa and the Baltic, was possible only because Polish [word indistinct] knew what conclusions to draw both from the conditions of the war and from the causes and the disasters which afflicted our fatherland for many centuries.

In other words, Polish participation in the fruits of victory over the Hitlerite Third Reich was possible only in conditions of fundamental changes in our foreign policy and the signing of an alliance with our Eastern neighbor and friend.

In order to win a war it is not enough merely to fight even though this be a most gallant fight, but no victory can be obtained without fighting. It is not enough, either to have moral right on one's side, although moral right is also indispensable. Above all, it is necessary to know how to use armed combat and moral right to score a political victory. More than once in the history of our nation total victory in armed combat was lost because of wrong policies. It must be said clearly that, before anything else, the achievement of the Polish Workers Party lay in the fact that Polish affairs were represented by Poles in the victory which determined the foundations of the European order in peace time. It was precisely the party of the working class that assured Polish interests at the side of our most important ally; it was the policy of this party that made possible--far from symbolic but real--Polish participation in the final storming of Berlin. It is to this party that we owe our opportunity for presenting the Polish position at the Potsdam conference, where the final decisions were taken with regard to our western borders. It was that frontranking party of the Polish left which was the moving force behind the reconstruction of the Polish state in its new organizational and territorial shape. The Polish Workers Party existed for only a short period of time--a little less than 7 years. If it achieved so much in that time it was because it represented a synthesis of what was best and most noble in the Polish workers' movement; it combined the program of national liberation and social liberation.

Esteemed gathering. For us, Poles, the path to victory was extremely difficult. We fought from the very first to the very last day of the war. Throughout this time the nation bore suffering and sacrifices beyond measure. We fought on all the fronts: in Poland, in France, in Norway, in the air over Great Britain and over the English Channel, in the Atlantic and in the Mediteranean, in North Africa, in Italy, Holland, Belgium, on the Eastern Front from Leningrad to Berlin. In the country itself, we had our underground and guerrilla action. We spared no effort in the interests of victory. Despite all the political differences that might have divided us, during the war the victory over the criminal Third Reich was the joint victory of us all.

Bowing our heads, we jointly pay tribute to all those who gave their lives for victory. Among them there are many nameless heroes for whom each of us, on Victory Day, will lay red and white flowers at the tomb. Let us also bow today to the whole Polish nation united in the fight against Hitler's fascism in the period of [words indistinct]. Let us turn our thoughts also toward our ally, the Soviet Union. Six hundred thousand soldiers of the Red Army have been laid to rest on Polish land forever. The Polish-Soviet brotherhood-in-arms which arose in the joint fight against Hitlerism has become a momentous historic fact in the history of both our states and both our nations. It has become the lever of friendship and cooperation and is today the basis of our joint responsibility and cooperation with the whole system of the Warsaw Treaty and peace on our European continent.

From Warsaw we send cordial fraternal greetings to the peoples of the Soviet Union; we warmly and cordially greet the Soviet war veterans. On the festive day of victory we send greetings to all the combatants of the great antifascist coalition throughout the world. We send greetings to Polish soldiers of the Second World War who reside outside the borders of their native land. We once more greet our fathers from upper Silesia who took part in the Silesian risings.

Esteemed gathering, in view of the fact that in two weeks or so General Zietek, member of the Supreme Council of ZBOWID and former commander of a company or a platoon--I am not sure on this point--of men who took part in the Silesian risings, will celebrate his 80th birthday, allow me to propose that we send him our greetings and good wishes on behalf of the Supreme Council and all those gathered here today. [applause]

Allow me also, on behalf of the Supreme Council and the Executive Committee, and from myself personally, to convey from here cordial greetings to Michal Rola-Zymirski, honorary chairman of the Supreme Council and first marshal of the Polish People's Republic, who is not present here at our meeting today. [applause]

Esteemed gathering, dear friends. We are commorating this anniversary of the victory in a period which is very difficult and complex. We have undertaken the great task of renovating our People's Republic. Our nation is experiencing tremendous political and economic hardships which impose heavy burdens on the life of the state and the nation. Every single Polish family has been affected by them. At the source of the present difficulties lie grave mistakes committed by those who have been placed in positions of power and who have betrayed the trust [words indistinct]. They treated lightly the views of the working people and of the masses of party members. In mid-1980, as a result of the combination of the protest of workers and party criticism, the process of socialist renewal was launched. This combination gave rise to the resolutions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee, later developed and enriched in a joint effort of the party and the whole nation in speeches, conferences and discussions. Recently, at the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee, the date of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR was announced. It will be the first such congress in the history of the Polish workers' movement, as well as the most important one in the history of People's Poland.

We have a great historic chance. At the same time we are threatened by grave dangers. We shall be able to take advantage of this chance and overcome the perils only if we gather together in unity all the forces of the nation and when we reach for the values stored in the treasury of our whole splendid history. A self-respecting nation, and we are a self-respecting nation, cannot allow its own depreciation. In the most difficult periods, and there have been many of them, our nation knew how to reject everything that was evil, selfish and immoral. Today we also need such an attitude and this need remains unsatisfied to some extent.

In the years of struggle the nation, united, rose above differences and divided factions, recognized its friends and its foes. Adn today we need the same thing. Today new organizations have been set up in our country; they have risen from the aspirations and hopes of the working people. I have in mind, above all, Solidarity which--we believe--will become a socialist democracy. We believe also that it will be the drive-wheel of work for the good of the nation. The policy of dialogue and accord and not the policy of force and force-based confrontation--as common knowledge tells us--proclaimed by our party ever since the sixth plenum and expressed and implemented with so much dedication and emphasis by Stanislaw Kania, and put into effect by our government led by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski--is the only path for our nation as well as its great asset. We must defend these assets because this is our cause, our own family cause. We are convinced that this is realized by the vast majority of our nation, and above all, by our combatants, their sons and friends, their generations, not to mention the combatants who are today commemorating the 60th anniversary of their struggle in the Silesian risings.

I shall not mention any address here, but those who would like to push our country off the socialist road and toward a disaster should remember that we--as soldiers from all fronts--shall never allow the basis on which the independence and security of our people's fatherland rests to be dislodged. [applause]

Therefore, we appeal to all patriots, to all people of good will:

Let us unite in a common front of commonsense and civic responsibility, and let us follow the road of socialist renewal which expresses our best traditions, our hopes and our expectations.

Thank you. [lengthy applause]

Kania, Jaruzelski at Tribute

LD091550 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1305 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] For the 36th time we celebrate today Victory Day. This afternoon in Warsaw a 24-gun salute was fired in accordance with an order from the minister of national defense. There was later a solemn changing of the guard before the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Victory Square. Representatives of the authorities and society laid wreaths and flowers on the plaque under the columns of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Members of the highest authorities, Stanislaw Kania, Henryk Jablonski, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Stefan Ignar and Edward Kowalczyk, took part in the Victory Square ceremony. Michal Rola-Zymierski, honorary president of the Main Administration of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBOWID] and marshal of Poland, and Lt Gen Mieczyslaw Moczar, president of the ZBOWID Supreme Council, were also present.

PZPR OFFICIALS ATTEND LOCAL PARTY MEETINGS

Fiszbach in Gdansk

LD092216 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] The precongress campaign is continuing in the PZPR. The common tenor of the speeches at the report and election conferences is one of hope for the ordering and consolidation of party ranks, which is a basic condition for leading the country out of the crisis.

Yesterday there was a report and election conference at the northern shipyard named after the heroes of Westerplatte in Gdansk. Tadeusz Fiszbach, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the voivodship committee of the party, informed the gathering of the main theses of the report on the state of the economy submitted to the Sejm by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski. He emphasized that it is essential to seek a way out of the present situatuion by avoiding confrontation and through the authorities cooperating with society.

Local PZPR Meetings

LD081354 Warsaw PAP in English 1110 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 8 May (PAP)--In preparation for the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress delegates for the congress are elected at large factories on the basis of new regulations. Smaller party organizations elect delegates for municipal and voivodship conferences. Lively discussions at these meetings focus on a programme to overcome the present economic, political and moral crisis, map out directions of socialist renewal and strengthen the leading role of the party. Such a programme is expected to be worked out by the coming congress. The accountability of persons guilty of their part in the present situation of the country and nation is an important topic discussed.

Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski, member of the PUWP Political Bureau, was present at a party conference held on May 7th at the "Zamech" Elblag plant to which more than 300 party activists from the voivodship's other factories and representatives of the factory Solidarity cells were invited.

Speakers at the conference raised, among other things, such problems as accountability and punishment of those guilty of the country's present situation, acceleration of the economic reform and stabilization, careful preparation for the 9th congress and drafting of a new party statute and programme.

Taking the floor at the end of the conference, Mieczyslaw Jagielski discussed the country's present political and economic situation.

The participants in a party report-election conference at the Szczecin shipyards stressed the need for openness of the political and social life, democratization of party activities and full information.

More than 2,000 report-election meetings have been held so far at party organizations in the Silesian region. The principal feature of these discussions is a general drive towards developing arms of [words indistinct] and also in social life. Criticism focused on phenomena which hold back the process of renewal.

The report-election conference held by the PUWP organization of the "Mera-Elwro" factory in Wroclaw was critical of the successive versions of the party draft statute and programmatic guidelines. Criticism was particularly sharp of the party leadership elected by the 8th PUWP Congress and cases of corruption and the pursuit of one's private interests were cited.

A party conference held in the Leszno Voivodship devoted much attention to changes in the PUWP statute. It demanded that the principle of direct elections of party authorities of all levels be universally observed. The argument went that the new statute should effectively eliminate gaps which make possible accumulation of power in one hand and an extention of the term of office.

Bydgoszcz Urges More Discussion

LD111112 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0830 GMT 11 May 81

[Text] In Bydgoszcz, the precongress forum of the PZPR, which comprises about 40 party organizations from the largest enterprises of the region, had decided to maintain a permanent party readiness through increased activities of party members.

This decision is dictated by the views expressed by members of party organizations in the various enterprises on the proceedings and decisions of the 10th Central Committee Plenum which, they say, did not satisfy members of the organizations.

They demand, among other things, that more meetings be convened before the congress because the congress should be primarily devoted to the program and it should be preceded by measures taken against those guilty of mistakes and distortions.

GRABSKI INTERVIEWED ON PARTY COMMISSION'S TASKS

LD111042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 11 May 81

[From the press review]

[Text] The 15-member commission set up by the 10th plenum to appraise the progress of and to accelerate the work on the question of responsibility is holding its first session today.

In this connection, TRYBUNA LUDU interviewed Tadeusz Grabski, (?chairman) of the commission, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. Here is an excerpt from what he said:

"The commission, by fulfilling one of the fundamental conditions of socialist renewal, should define the degree of responsibility of (?persons) for the mistakes made or for their toleration of deformations in political, social and economic life.

"The commission will publish communiques on its progress until the end of its work at the end of June."

VOIVODSHIP MEETINGS DISCUSS MISCONDUCT OF OFFICIALS

Czestochowa Wants Resignations

LD081918 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] A party voivodship executive body plenary meeting was held in Czestochowa today. After a long and stormy discussion a resolution was adopted calling for the withdrawal of the political mandate from Jozef Grygiel and Stanislaw Kowalczyk [respectively former first secretary of the Czestochowa party voivodship committee; and former Politburo member and Minister of Internal Affairs] and requesting the party Central Committee Politburo to obligate them to resign from their posts as Sejm deputies and members of the Central Committee.

Another important decision adopted at today's plenum was a resolution on handing over the party town committee building to the Czestochowa Voivoda so that the building can be used in accordance with the most urgent social needs.

Bydgoszcz Case Against Official

LD091858 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] In Bydgoszcz there has been a session of the voivodship People's Council, which continues the session begun on 19 March. The main subjects of discussion were economic issues. The councillors were also informed about the state of the implementation of their proposals submitted at the sessions on 26th March and 10 April. In accordance with the councillors' demands, the Presidium of the voivodship People's Council addressed a proposal to the voivodship committee of the Front of National Unity regarding the application to the Sejm in the matter of stripping former first secretary of the party voivodship committee Jozef Majchrzak of his mandate as a deputy. He is reproached with having abused his position and of having exploited his past function for personal gain. The representative of the Prosecutor General acquainted the session with the course taken by the investigations into the incidents of 19 March. The evidence is being added to systematically, but it is still difficult to fix an exact date for the conclusion of this matter.

TRYBUNA LUDU REPORTS OLSZOWSKI SPEECH AT PZPR SESSION

LD081437 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1-3 May 81 p 5

[Unattributed report on speech made by PZPR Politburo member Stefan Olszowski at 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] We have been discussing today some documents of fundamental importance for the party, namely the program theses for the ninth extraordinary congress and proposals for changes in the rules. In his report Comrade S. Kania has described some fundamental current tasks facing the party. We are meeting at a time when the state of Poland and that of its economy have been affected by a deep and protracted crisis.

Following the dramatic experiences of recent months, a considerable proportion of the community has adopted an attitude which I would call a longing for rational thought and action. It wants to understand the new phenomena in an orderly manner. It hopes that health-restoring activities and actual facts will have a positive impact on improving and stabilizing the situation in the country.

However, rational thought and action demand that we face up to the truth, the whole truth, even if it is unpopular.

Unpopular truths often arouse an unfavorable reaction. But we also have a duty to proclaim them, since the only thing that counts is the Polish state's interests.

What is dangerous to national interests?

First, the spreading of anarchy in social and economic life; second, the continuous devaluation of Poland's position.

These negative processes are connected with the persistent confusion prevailing in the economic sphere. At the same time, the international position of Poland as an economic and also a political partner has been weakening. The most important task at present is to ensure peace, bread and work for the people.

An emptying market is not a specter that can be exorcised with some magic words. It is a reality which we will have to live with unless great, joint work is done and a national effort is made day after day and hour after hour.

We are not and will not be a nation living on somebody else's generosity. We ourselves must gain control over the unstable economy and the inflationary spiral and use any available methods to produce more.

A socialist country develops socially and economically when all working people participate in its building. All people working together, whether they are party members or not, whether they are believers or not. Patriotism and social justice do not make such distinctions. The Church's patriotic role, which has been well documented in our history, has again been confirmed in recent months.

Our national problems must be resolved in two spheres--in the sphere of social awareness and socialist democracy institutions, and in the economic sphere.

Periods of increased activity produce some positive and civic social values. However, some other phenomena also become apparent.

Some rightist, anarchistic, nationalist and anti-Soviet trends have reappeared against the background of crisis. Their representatives have been trying to add their counter-revolutionary interests and demands to the workers' requests. Using all kinds of methods and means, the forces involved in all this have persistently disseminated information whose only aim is to inflame the community and channel its emotions against the socialist system.

How easy it has become to upbraid the communists and criticize the performance of People's Poland and the social achievements of socialism. If you now defend the system's principles, the party's role and unity and the socialist state's interests, you are often accused of conservatism. A specific propaganda hysteria fed by demands for complete freedom to propagate any views has emerged. Is this how the dimension of freedom of speech should be understood?

Any observer of public life in Poland is bound to notice the profound changes which have taken place in the sphere of freedom of speech, publication and dissemination of information; and even cases where the rational limits for freedom of speech and propagation of views have been exceeded. The social and political consequences of such excesses are becoming increasingly numerous. Anyone who is unable to foresee such consequences is mistaken. But when the new opportunities are used to spread confusion instead of to encourage critical creative thought and seek new ways of solving our problems, and used to further certain personal political objectives, what is this to be called? Just a mistake?

Polish society is being informed increasingly extensively--though no doubt not as well as it could be--about national and world events. The existence of freedom to discuss essential problems, freedom to criticize mistakes and freedom to engage in polemics--in the press, on radio and on television--is obvious to all. A line of conduct with respect to this matter has also been defined in Comrade Stanislaw Kania's report today.

We have been determining new methods in connection with the information policy which has been taking shape in recent months, and we have not always been able to avoid making mistakes.

But strangely, the fact that information has become more comprehensive and reliable and is presented more rapidly by the mass media has not been appreciated, and aggressive criticisms--mainly directed at individuals instead of problems, and at names instead of issues--have resulted from some groups' discontent with the fact that the party and people appointed by it exert control over the stream of information and seek to channel it. This aggressive campaign has been mounted by people who, while remaining party members, have consciously been fomenting opportunism and revisionist subversion of the party's political line.

Information warfare is continually waged in the modern world. The imperialist powers have set in motion powerful transmitters whose task is to exert ideological pressure and interfere in the socialist countries' social life. These propaganda instruments have specialized in the art of manipulating information and comment. Furthermore, they have been exploiting weaknesses and domestic problems apparent in socialist countries to further their aims.

Irrespective of all this, however, the question of information is and will continue to be a subject of commitment and inherest for public opinion. Therefore it is necessary to continually seek to correct mistakes in information policy. This policy must and will be improved.

"Directions of NSZZ Solidarity Activities in the Present Situation" were published at a time when the draft "program theses" for the 10th Central Committee Plenum were being extensively discussed. I notice that the Solidarity "theses" contain some serious problems side by side with proposals dictated by political ambitions.

They clearly show that efforts are being made to change the character of that organization from that of a trade union to that of a sociopolitical movement, contrary to the Gdansk agreements which formed the basis for defining Solidarity as a trade union.

This trend is manifested in political demands aimed, for instance, at changing the electoral procedure with respect to Sejm and local councils, at speedy elections to councils, at transforming the structure of the judiciary and so forth.

The workers party's leading role in our socialist state has been ignored completely, and statements have been made to the effect that the existing political system has been unable to correct its own mistakes and has not been strong enough to reform itself. There has also been a statement that Solidarity is the only guarantee of renewal. This is simply untrue since our party and the socialist government have assumed the main burden of and responsibility for the task of socialist renewal.

The reference to the sources of the trade union's ideological inspiration--which, according to that document, are the nation's best traditions, Christian moral principles, the political challenge of democracy and socialist social thought--also provides food for thought and requires some comment.

Not only the struggle for independence and insurrections, but also endeavors to ensure socioeconomic transformation, watchwords put forward by positivists and respect for labor are among the nation's best traditions, as are not only "thought about freedom" but also thought about the class struggle, the Marxist revolutionary thought, which sees the world as moving toward socialization--not returning to private ownership--and toward human development in such a world.

Side by side with Christian moral principles, Polish traditions include many enlightened and noble ideals of the Polish revolutionary and social left and of the Polist leftwing and democratic intelligentsia, which has drawn inspiration from secular sources, especially Marxist thought.

The thesis about the political challenge of democracy also prompts us to ask some questions.

Is it a question of people's power and class principles of justice, of a socialist democracy within whose framework there is room for all progressive forces and whose guarantors are the workers party and its leading role in the state and society? That is, is it a question of a democracy whose sources can be found not in the bourgeois liberal of middle-class tradition but in the plebeian and working class tradition? Or is it a question of a modern bourgeois parliamentary democracy?

The thesis about socialist social thought as a source of inspiration is, on the face of it, uncontroversial. But what kind of socialist thought is referred to? Is it the kind that results from a class analysis of reality, or the kind of social democratic ideas that are not, in fact, class ideas? Implementation of the latter concepts has never fundamentally clashed with the capitalist system and ownership of means of production.

Solidarity's draft program also refers to many aims and tasks which should be subjected to analysis. However, I will not conceal the fact that they arouse concern which must not be passed over in silence.

The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress will determine Poland's future, the party's nature, program and role in the country's life today and the principles of its internal democracy. It will adopt decisions with respect to its regulation guarantees and steps to be taken to ensure that no more distortions occur. The draft theses for the ninth congress include detailed information about all this. The Congress Commission Secretariat, of which I am chairman, has prepared the necessary draft documents on the basis of the materials prepared by Congress Commission subcommittees and proposals put forward by party organizations and precongress voivodship commissions. These documents are doubtless not perfect since, after all, we have worked in a tense atmosphere, under the pressure of dramatic events and conflicts. However, they have been accepted by the Congress Commission and represent a basis for general party discussion. Their final form will be determined during this discussion and by the ninth congress itself. Both the Congress Commission Secretariat and the entire Congress Commission have worked in the awareness of bearing a particular responsibility. This plenum will judge the results of our work.

However, we cannot wait until the ninth congress determines the PZPR's political line and strategy. Time presses and every day calls for action.

I would like to state my attitude toward several matters.

First, socialist renewal means consolidation of the socialist system and restoration and development of the principle that the working class, the working people and their Marxist-Leninist party are the main power and source of the social and political energy which transforms life. It means in-depth development of socialist democracy, which is and must be embodied in every sphere--political, social and economic.

Worker and social self-government, which has been so clearly emphasized in the program theses and which should simultaneously support the state itself and its structures, is its reflection in the organism of our people's state. Such a state, which controls the course of events and acts on behalf of a socialist nation but is itself controlled by the community, Sejm and public opinion, is now especially essential to us Poles. It is not only a question of law and order in the country but also--and to no less an extent--of the outside world's respect for Poland and of restoration of Poland's position as a reliable and equal partner in international relations.

Second, it is obvious that, in addition to questions about the future, the strengthening of Poland and the overcoming of the crisis also requires an answer to the question of why these events have taken place. The Ninth PZPR Congress will answer this question. But we have already openly stated that the guilty people should be called to account for what they have done, according to the extent of their guilt and the sphere of their responsibilities.

However, political culture and the experience gained by European societies and states requires that, in accordance with our understanding of justice, political mistakes be considered in the light of political decisions, whereas criminal activities should be considered in the light of criminal responsibility and dealt with by the courts in accordance with the law. And this should be done in a firm but just manner. The decisions adopted by the party Control Commission show that this is being done.

And, third, the path of socialist renewal is also the path of economic reforms. Led by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, the government has been working in various ways on this matter. Only a reformed economy can provide the basis for genuinely overcoming the crisis and developing the country. The Economic Reform Commission has submitted a draft reform plan for general discussion. It has been endorsed by many circles and criticized by many others. Many new proposals and plans have also been put forward. This has reduced the possibility of errors. However, the views advocated here and there to the effect that the market should be the sole regulator of economic relations and development trends are simply obsolete. A combination of workforce self-government, enterprise self-management and effective central planning should be the main framework for any wise reform plans. Not only economic laws but also the tasks and objectives for a socialist system should be taken into account.

Poland's interests and welfare demand that the socialist renewal be clearly and unequivocally consistent with the path of profitable and wide-ranging cooperation between our economy and, especially, the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The abandonment by the former PZPR and state leadership of the universal principles of socialism was one of the reasons for the present crisis. As a result, the Polish economy was suddenly and extensively opened up to the West and this made it greatly dependent on imports of raw materials, semifinished goods, techniques and technology. This caused increasing indebtedness to the West and later made it essential.

Our neighbors--Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the GDR--are not suffering from a crisis situation and the goods supplied to the market in those countries meet the needs of the working people. Steady economic progress has been achieved in the USSR and the standard of living achieved by the people has effectively been sustained in all those countries. Why?

The fact that our neighbors have exercised restraint, have acted sensibly in the sphere of economic and credit cooperation with the West and have not unduly burdened their economies with debts has been one of the main reasons for their success. Furthermore, they have made much more effective use of the opportunities existing in the sphere of mutual cooperation. Obviously, it is impossible to overlook some positive consequences of economic cooperation with many capitalist countries. This course should also be developed. However, it is a question of correct proportions. A reorientation of our economy in general and our industry in particular toward a return to and cooperation with the socialist countries and the consolidation of their orientation are important factors in the socialist renewal plan.

A swing of the economy toward the socialist countries can be justified on many grounds. And anyone unwilling to accept other arguments should consider this: How could we pay for and where could we obtain, except from the USSR, more than 13 million tons of crude oil, 3 million tons of oil products, 5.3 billion cubic meters of natural gas, 9 million tons of crude and enriched iron ores, 125,000 tons of cotton, 118,000 tons of pulp and other raw materials essential to the national economy? We now receive aid from the fraternal countries, a fact which some people either make light of or underestimate. We have ceased to meet our trade and export obligations, thus making our neighbors' economic situation more difficult. Hence, inter alia, their well-justified concern.

As our program theses state, we will be able to extricate ourselves from the present economic crisis only through sacrifices and restrictions. Half measures, still less the stubborn retention of an ossified price system, will not bring any radical change.

Any consequences of these sacrifices and restrictions should be minimized and proportioned among people according to their wages and income, the lowest paid workers being fully compensated to a lesser degree. It will also be necessary to limit the consequences of the undoubtedly necessary temporary reduction in production in some enterprises or economic sectors while ensuring that the right to work is respected through the retraining and reassignment of workers.

A realistic program, or maybe some alternative program, for a price system reform and ways to avert the threat of unemployment should be submitted for wide-ranging social consultation or perhaps even a referendum.

In view of the economic situation, it has become obvious that it will be possible to overcome our difficulties only if those sectors of production which the community cannot do without are determined. This is a sphere which should fall within the framework of a 3-year national economic stabilization plan.

This sphere should certainly include the agricultural sector, food production and food processing and also the production of medicines, sanitary equipment, energy, raw materials, housing and means of transportation.

Therefore it is undoubtedly necessary to develop the production of necessities and goods for export.

Furthermore, there can be no doubt that those enterprises and sectors which produce semi-finished goods and make it possible to obtain, through cooperation, specific and essential end products in particular spheres should continue to operate and produce goods.

It is also necessary to determine and give priority to enterprises and sectors which produce essentials for agricultural development, including fertilizers, plant protection agents, machinery and equipment. It is necessary to implement the decision to switch the requisite number of industrial enterprises to producing installations, equipment and machinery needed by individual farmers, taking their requirements into account.

In order to be able to utilize the assets which we already possess--machinery and means of transport out of commission because of a shortage of spare parts and also batteries and tires--it is necessary to rapidly switch particular enterprises from the production of finished goods to the production of such spare parts.

It is necessary to ensure that these specific and strictly determined sectors have all the necessary means, including imported equipment, and take priority with respect to transportation.

Social control over the implementation of this program--by workers' self-governing organizations and trade unions--is not only an absolute necessity but also a guarantee that the problem will be dealt with successfully, with strict measures being taken to ensure that the management performs its tasks.

All the other spheres of production can operate according to the existing possibilities with respect to energy and raw materials.

These proposals and some other proposals of similar importance require social acceptance in general and acceptance by the trade unions and Sejm in particular. Maybe some other, better ideas for immediate solutions on which economic stabilization can be based will be put forward.

The formulation of a plan for stabilizing the national economy based on wide-ranging social discussion should be an important result of party activities prior to the ninth extraordinary party congress.

FURTHER ON KLASA PRESS CONFERENCE ON 10TH PLENUM

AU081406 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 May 81 p 5

[PAP report on 5 April press conference at the Central Committee premises chaired by Central Committee Press, Radio and Television Department Director Jozef Klasa, and attended, among others, by Central Committee Secretary Kurowski: "Great Interest in the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE 5 APRIL PRESS CONFERENCE ORGANIZED ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PREMISES FOR PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION NEWSMEN FROM THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES DEALT WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THE 10TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM.

Central Committee Secretary Zdzislaw Kurowski presented the plenum's results, stressing that not only party members, but all the people showed great interest in the plenum, as attested to by the letters and resolutions received by the Central Committee. Many of the plenum's decisions were received with approval, but there were also people who said that not all the expected decisions were reflected in the plenum results. One of the two documents adopted by the plenum is the programmatic tenets drawn up as a result of consultations with industrial workforces. The tenets describe inter alia, the sources and nature of the crisis and take a stand on internal party issues, on problems of socialist democracy, and on economic, cultural and international activities of the party and state. The programmatic tenets, the draft changes to the PZPR statutes, the reports on the state of the economy, the draft reform and the 3-year stabilization plan will be the most important documents for precongress discussion, which will be joined by all political forces--political parties, trade union, youth organizations and so on.

WE ARE 60 DAYS AWAY FROM THE OPENING OF THE CONGRESS, Z. KUROWSKI SAID. THESE DAYS SHOULD BE USED TO PREPARE FOR THE CONGRESS SO THAT THE HOPES ATTACHED TO IT ARE FULFILLED. PEOPLE HOPE THAT THE CONGRESS WILL GIVE US STRENGTH TO OVERCOME THE CRISIS, WILL PROVIDE THE PARTY WITH A PROGRAM AS A PLATFORM FOR EXTRICATING THE COUNTRY FROM ITS DIFFICULTIES, WILL ENHANCE CONFIDENCE IN THE PARTY AND WILL CREATE A BETTER CLIMATE FOR THE PEOPLE'S CREATIVE WORK.

Ryszard Lukasiewicz, deputy director of the Central Committee Organization Department, presented the lines of the changes proposed for PZPR statutes. HE SAID THAT THE DISCUSSION ON THE BASIC DOCUMENT DEFINING THE PARTY'S AIMS AND TASKS HAD BECOME AN IMPERATIVE OF THE TIMES. The changes are necessary to erect institutional barriers against possible violations of the Leninist norms followed by the party, to increase the rights of party members and to expand the powers of elected party bodies. The draft changes, which crucially revise the present text of the statutes, are a response to the general demands for measures to guarantee democratic party life.

During the conference, which was chaired by Jozef Klasa, director of the Central Committee Press, Radio and Television Department, many questions were asked about current party problems, including the so-called horizontal levels and the evaluation of the present accountability-election campaign.

The conference was attended by Walery Namiotkiewicz, director of the Ideoeducational Work Department, and by Stanislaw Gebala, director of the Trade and Finances Department of the Central Committee.

LIBERAL PARTY CHANGES UNVEILED IN PROGRAM PROPOSALS

NC081529 Paris AFP in English 1524 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 8 May (AFP)--Polish communists today unveiled a dramatic series of proposals that called for sweeping liberal changes within the party structure, increased co-operation between the state and the Roman Catholic Church, review of the penal code and guarantees of the role of trade unions in a "renewed socialist."

The proposals, drawn up by the preparatory committee for the party's ninth congress in July, were immediately viewed as going a long way towards meeting demands from militants in the party's rank-and-file and attempting to ease internal union-state tensions that have repeatedly brought the country to the brink of crisis since last summer.

Among key proposals, printed by the Polish press today, were a call for a "growing democratization" in parliamentary and municipal elections, direct universal suffrage, secret ballots and "full freedom of choice" among candidates.

As in the past, the candidates are to be drawn from the National Unity Front grouping the communist party, called the United Polish Workers' Party, and allied parties as well as from Poles "without parties", who are frequently Catholics.

The participation of the independent trade union Solidarity in the unity front is in view, the document said, and unions "constitute an important guarantee for renewed socialism."

Unions "should be treated on an equal footing," the document said. "People not belonging to parties must have access to leading posts of the state and the economy".

The committee called for all patriotic forces to mobilize under a "common front of responsibilities" to help solve the country's problems.

The proposals also recommended that party statutes be overhauled at the congress, to be held July 14-18, with the rights and powers of the party's Political Bureau and First Secretary defined. Party officials should be clearly brought under "the subordination of the party's elected body," the document recommended.

On economics, the document called for the gaps between the country's highest and lowest wages to be gradually narrowed by 1984, the introduction of a system of progressive taxes above a certain unstated level and an overhaul of prices.

The committee acknowledged the important role of the millions of private farms and the right to inheritance.

On foreign relations, the document said Poland will consolidate its links with socialist countries and continue to contribute to the reinforcement of the Warsaw Pact while pursuing co-operation with non-socialist countries.

Following party militants' calls for "horizonal structures" within the party, the document stressed that links among the party's base organizations could occur as long as the party's internal structures were not undermined.

The document also said that the party views Poland's millions of Catholics "with respect" and favours "increasing cooperation between the Church and state out of concern for the good of the nation."

The document stated that Catholics were accepted as members of the party although the general party policy was one of "scientific socialism".

About the law, the document called for Poland's penal code to be overhauled, especially concerning detention.

KYODO INTERVIEWS PZPR OFFICIAL ON PARTY REFORM

OW091125 Tokyo KYODO in English 1103 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, May 9 (KYODO)--Most of "party bureaucrats" will drop out of the Polish United Workers' Party's decisionmaking Central Committee to be replaced by worker members at the forthcoming extraordinary party congress in July, a leading member of the reformist group of the party says.

The leader, who is a high ranking official of the Polish journalists union and a member of the preliminary committee for the congress, told KYODO news service Friday that a moderate democratization line would get majority support at the congress.

He said "those who have emerged through mutual understanding with the masses to take the leadership would maintain their posts," meaning that the moderates and reformists led by party chief Stanislaw Kania would remain in power.

"Almost all problems will be solved before the congress begins, including criticism of party leaders by grass roots members," he said.

"The grass roots members want a genuine socialism, genuine democracy and genuine party."

Referring to the draft party statute to be announced shortly, he said it would include a secret balloting system to elect party convention delegates and party officials at all levels, elimination of restriction on candidate qualifications, limitation of party leaders' term of office to eight years, and separating of government and party functions to prevent high posts from being held by same persons concurrently.

Asked what he thought of Soviet worries about the Polish situation, he said, "I understand our great neighbor's concern, but we are not challenging the socialist system itself."

"If our neighbor realizes that the Polish party is stabilized and has mutual understanding with the people, they will accept our party line," he added.

FURTHER ON BARCIKOWSKI COMMENTS AT YOUTH CONGRESS

LD081532 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1810 GMT 6 May 81

[From the proceedings of the Third Extraordinary Congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth held in Warsaw on 27-28 April--recorded]

[Excerpt] [Unidentified speaker] During the session today it was demanded that representatives of the leadership of the Central Committee, and representatives of the government who had not taken part in the session all morning, be present. However, in connection with this, we will obviously exert pressure if we are not treated with complete seriousness. I think that is a weapon we will regretfully have to use.

[Other unidentified speaker] I have a question for Comrade Barcikowski. What does he have in mind when he says that the formation of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] in 1976 was a political error, and in whose name did he say this? I ask this question because Comrade Barcikowski was not announced. [sentence as heard]

[Barcikowski] Comrades, it can happen that a man speaks in his own name. And I uttered that thought in the conviction and on the basis of the post I held at the time the decision was made to amalgate the organization. All the same, my formulation did not say that the establishing of the ZSMP was a mistake, but that the formation of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] was incorrect. This was the opinion I held then, and I have the moral right to say this today, if the need arises. [applause]

Dear comrades, let us agree that your union will work as closely as possible and as cordially as possible with the ZMW. No one will lose by this. But the creation of the ZMW was not thought up by a department or the Central Committee for if we had done so and sought some means of realizing this idea, then you could accuse us of manipulating. All your activists are well aware that the idea for the ZMW arose at the initiative of a large number of activists of the old ZMW, of its old branches, of a large part of the aktiv of the ZSL which took part here.

We were faced with a fact which called for recognition, and we recognized this fact. If this is called manipulation, what should one call denying recognition for an organization that already exists?

A note has come to me regarding a reply to the second question. It runs: Comrade Secretary, we request a concrete statement on whether the ZSMP is a partner of the PZPR or a prep school for party candidates?

Esteemed comrades, I declare with complete conviction that the ZSMP is, and will be treated as a partner of the PZPR. [applause] There can be no doubt of that. Under no condition do we wish to consider your union as an annex, prep or primary school for the party. Rather, we would like to see in you a strong link with the youth movement, which in pursuing its activities, conducting ideological and educational work, of course creates the conditions for the political and ideological maturity of the young. Obviously those young people will lean in the direction of the party and not away from it. We count heavily on that.

OFFICIALS ELECTED AT ZSL PLENUM REPORTED

LD081900 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Today, the second day of deliberations of the third plenum of the ZSL Supreme Committee, the following were elected as deputy chairmen of the Supreme Committee: Stanislaw Dabrowski, chairman of the ZSL circle at Wroclaw University and lecturer at that university; Franciszek (Kaber), until now a member of the Presidium of the ZSL Supreme Committee, and a farmer from Rzeszow Voivodship; Jozef Kukulka, a professor and director of the Institute of International Relations at Warsaw University; and Jerzy Szymanek, until now a member of the Presidium and Secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee.

The following were elected as members of the Presidium of the ZSL Supreme Committee; Wloczimierz Ciolek, Boguslaw Drozdz, Jadwiga Dymala, Czeslaw Jaworski, Zygmunt Kazmierozak, Czeslaw Kozak, Jan Kwakszyc, Roman Malinowski, Antoni Podraza, Boleslaw Struzek, ANDRZEJ Trzaskalski, and Czeslaw Wojtera.

The following were elected as secretaries of the Supreme Committee: Izydor Adamski, Jerzy Grzywczak, Ryszard Nowak, and Waldemar (Gilkiel).

The following were elected members of the Secretariat of the Supreme Committee: Tadeusz Kisielewski, Witold Lipski and Wladyslaw Szymanski.

GOVERNMENT-SOLIDARITY MEDIA ACCESS TALKS CONTINUE

LD081444 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] [no dateline received] The fourth session of the working group of representatives of the Council of Ministers Committee on Trade Union Affairs and the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity devoted to the mass media took place in Warsaw on 7 May. Unlike previous meetings, this session concerned problems of the press--dailies, weeklies and other periodicals--and the possibility of its carrying Solidarity material.

The delegations are headed by press representatives of the government and Solidarity, Jozef Barecki and Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

The eighth point put forward by Solidarity was discussed. It reads: Solidarity must have the opportunity to publish its own materials in specially allocated columns of local papers which are not the organs of political parties. It was decided that this point would be discussed further at the regular meeting on 13 May.

The ninth point of the trade union's stand was also discussed.

It says that the major Solidarity trade union centers must have the right to issue their own local weeklies. The government delegation noted that Solidarity has the right to issue its own newspapers, but the paper situation in Poland at the moment is exremely difficult. The appearance of a new paper now would be equivalent to the destruction of one of the existing ones. The government side gave the Solidarity delegation information about the present supply of paper.

These are the facts:

In 1980 the paper industry supplied 6,000 tons of paper less than the plan targets, while imported supplies were 20 percent less than envisaged by the plan.

The shortage of paper was the reason behind the need to introduce strict limitations on the publication of papers and the decrease in the size of papers and magazines as well as the frequency of publication.

In 1980 almost 15 percent fewer books were published than in 1979. This year the situation is even worse. After amendments, the paper supply plan for the publishing industry has been lowered by 13 percent in comparison with the socioeconomic plan targets. These supplies (?will probably be) lowered further due to the shortage of funds for imports of paper from capitalist countries.

Publication of scientific and specialist literature, dictionaries and encyclopedias, as well as artistic literature will fall by 20-25 percent. Both Polish and foreign modern and classical literature will be affected. There will also be discussion on this point next week.

Other trade union demands which will be discussed concern increasing the circulation of the Solidarity weekly; the activities of factory radio networks which, according to Solidarity, must be under workers' self-management, and where there is no self-management, under the control of the trade unions active at the given enterprise; the functions of trade union papers, of which there were 192 throughout the country in 1978 and almost 200 today, and the trade union's right to be granted more presses.

Solidarity Spokesman Summary

LD082152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 8 May 81

[Remarks on Solidarity's access to the press voiced by Solidarity press spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz during 8 May press conference in Warsaw on Solidarity-government talks on mass media issues--recorded]

[Text] Our last meeting was devoted to problems of broadening Solidarity's access to the press. It is true that we have the SOLIDARNOSC weekly, although it comes out in inadequate numbers, as we all know. Therefore, the important thing here was to increase the number of copies and also to obtain additional supplies of newsprint which would enable us to publish our regional weeklies in regions where it is possible to have printing presses.

It was also important to ensure this broader access through other means, and this was the main point on the agenda during the first day. These other means include being granted permanent columns in the various regional papers. There was some talk about the so-called "reading papers," that is, papers which are not affiliated to political parties, and it is those papers which were discussed.

Another important point was to obtain column space in papers published by regional associations. We wanted the government to support our aims for obtaining such space. Of course, the government does not run these papers, but what we wanted was to obtain its support in our negotiations with the companies which publish these papers.

On this point, we achieved a substantial, and quite good coincidence of views.

We obtained promises that the government will approach the workers printing plant organization to enable us to obtain such column space. This would apply not only to morning dailies, but also to [words indistinct]. But the problem of newsprint, the most important and most difficult problem, has been deferred. We have presented our demands on this matter. We are awaiting the government's (?decision).

Interviews on Issues

LD091812 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 9 May 81

[Interview on 8 May with government press spokesman Jozef Barecki and Solidarity press spokesman Janusz Onyskiewicz by correspondent (Andrzjey Jelenski) on government-Solidarity talks on access to media--recorded; place not given]

[Text] [Question] The earlier (?meeting was about) access for Solidarity to radio and television, and today's meeting was about access to the press. Was anything agreed during this meeting?

[Barecki] Before I say anything else I would like to make it clear that the concept of "access to the press" is not a precise concept in this case. Solidarity already has very broad access to the press. First, the press throughout Poland writes very extensively about Solidarity and carries statements and interviews with Solidarity activists. Moreover, Solidarity already has several titles available [words indistinct], such as the national Polish weekly SOLIDARNOSC. We have discussed extending what Solidarity might have available in the future. In other words the further development of the publishing activities [words indistinct]. We have discussed access, or about the possibilities of solidarity being able to print, if you like, its columns in the [word indistinct] so-called Czytelnik regional magazines. We have also discussed Solidarity's requirements with regard to publishing the range of Solidarity publications. Remarks were also (?examined) about subsequent points, which are to be the subject of more specific discussions, and I think that this exchange of views and certain decisions which we have already made point to the fact that our work continues to be basically [word indistinct] and useful.

[Question] Does Mr Janusz Onyazkiewicz agree with this?

[Onyszkiewicz] Our access to the press is not nonexistent. When all is said and done we have the weekly SOLIDARNOSC. Apart from this the [word indistinct] JEDNOSC weekly is published. But we think that this is far from enough when you take into account the number of members. This is why we submitted a certain number of demands. Today we discussed the first one, namely the establishment in certain regional, daily and weekly publications of special columns to be edited by Solidarity, by local activists.

[Question] This applies to magazines such as are issued by the Fzytelnik publishing House?

[Onyszkiewicz] Publications of the Cytelnik type are not, in essence, organs of political parties or associations, so we have in mind is Czytelnik publications, among others. Here we managed to achieve a fair measure of convergence of views, although not identical. This is a fairly good sign. Let us hope that the outcome of these talks of ours, and then of various decisions at government level, will guarantee us columns in a certain number of publications which, you assured us, (?result from) the needs of individual regions. We also present our requirements for newsprint and our own regional weeklies and we hope that somehow or other we shall be able later on to discuss specific matters with regard to how much newsprint we shall have at our disposal.

[Barecki] I would like to say that the state of production and import possibilities is the most (?difficult) problem. First, production is very low and is dropping. Second, as is well known, we have very restricted import possibilities overall. This problem is exceptionally difficult for this reason.

[Question] Gentlemen, why could the final round in the negotiations between these working groups not take place today?

[Barecki] You were, sir, after all a witness and an observer at these negotiations. The facts are quite simply that we want to achieve not only the putting down on paper of the demands--after all these demands were already submitted before the meeting--but also to guarantee their feasibility. Above all, our task is to prepare stances, either convergent or divergent, for negotiations to be held in the future between the National Consultative Commission and the Committee for Trade Union Affairs.

[Onyszkiewicz] I (?do not) agree with this stance of ours. [as heard] Of course, an examination of problems and (?some other) matters is being carried out. Sometimes it is very difficult to reach complete agreement on individual points. As regards, I think, the matter of the allocation of newsprint then the discussions will be very complicated because of the paper problems of which we are aware. Of course, we hold the view that the distribution of the newsprint is perhaps not of the best. At the very least, perhaps it will be possible to allocate this paper differently if it is also borne in mind that new publications are being established whose print-runs, or at least some of them are too large. In this connection I repeat that we shall also continue to discuss the newsprint issue and the question of a possible change in [word indistinct] distribution.

[Barecki] It emerges from this that our negotiations today can be wound up.

[Question] When are you meeting?

[Barecki] We're meeting on Wednesday.

GOVERNMENT-SOLIDARITY DISCUSSIONS REPORTED

Food Rationing Talks

LD082344 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] A meeting between government representatives and a working group from the Solidarity union for food sector affairs has ended in Bydgoszcz this evening. A communique issued after the talks states that opinions on the functioning of the present rationing system were made known to the government. Among other things, the need to simplify this system, to improve the organization of supply and distribution of food stuffs, to introduce stricter rules for supplies to the catering industry and canteens and to resolve the problem of supplying the market with nonrationed goods was emphasized.

The next meeting is to be held on 18 May in Warsaw.

Protocol Signed in Nowy Sacz

LD092130 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] A joint protocol has been signed between the [word indistinct] department of the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection, and the Nowy Sacz Solidarity led by Henryk Pawlowski.

In a PAP interview, Henryk Pawlowski described the meeting as the most difficult of the five held so far between the two commissions in Nowy Sacz. The difficulty transpires from the nature of the 42 issues. Among other matters discussed was the problem of acquiring for social purposes some sanatoria and holiday homes belonging to the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Central Committee of the party in Krynica and Zakopane, and five buildings in Nowy Sacz and Nowy Targ for health service purposes.

A needlessly dramatic part of the meeting occurred when it returned to the documents concerning Nowy Sacz Deputy Voivoda Wladyslaw Faber. This was because fresh material unexpectedly appeared which was prepared by the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection. This material differed diametrically from the previous material [word indistinct] and prompted the Solidarity commission to probe the motion requesting the release of Faber from his post and to ask for an explanation of circumstances concerning the concealment of the material.

The talks in Nowy Sacz, despite difficulty or even dramatic moments, have concluded in a good atmosphere. Both sides demonstrated that social interest is the supreme criteria. The next meeting has been set jointly for 9 June this year.

Maritime Publication

LD092245 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] A meeting took place on Friday, 8 May at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy between representatives of the editorial office of the Voice of Seamen and Fishermen; Kaminski, a representative of the maritime chapter of Solidarity in Szczecin; and Grzeskowiak, the press spokesman of the Polish Steamship Company. Also taking part in the meeting was Ruzik, press spokesman for the ministry.

It has been agreed that an editorial collegium will be appointed which will give its opinion in 3 months on the work of the editorial office. The editorial office has committed itself to inviting people from the coastal area to write commentaries. The collegium will apply to the ministry and the leadership of the agency in order that, within the PZP framework, autonomy be given to the Voice of Seamen and Fishermen.

WALESA INTERVIEWED ON GOVERNMENT-SOLIDARITY TALKS

LD081918 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 8 May 81

[Interview by reporter Andzej Jelenski with Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Consultative Commission of NSZZ Solidarity, and Jan Rulewski, chairman of the Bydgoszcz NSZZ Solidarity, on the 8 May Warsaw meeting of the National Consultative Commission's Presidium--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Chairman of the National Consultative Commission [KKP], Mr Lech Walesa. What was discussed at the meeting? Have you been assessing the negotiations so far between the government and Solidarity working parties?

[Walesa] We cannot attempt to make an assessment because the negotiations have not yet been completed. They will continue for some time to come. The assessment will be made by the whole KKP; our results will then be discussed by the commission and the remainder of the union's membership. At present, the talks have reached various stages; some are halfway through, while others have not even reached that point.

[Question] When can one expect talks between the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Matters and the KKP?

[Walesa] If the talks had gone well, this meeting could have been held a long time ago. However, progress is not so good; there have been various difficulties. I expect that after 20 May there should be a meeting of the entire commission, and all these matters should then be ultimately settled.

[Question] On the subject of the trip to Japan. [sentence as heard]

[Walesa] We must make this trip. [Words indistinct] the executive powers of the union will be handed over to another group of activists who are staying behind in Poland in order to ensure that the union continues the work we have been doing; they may even do it better.

Thus, we have put the powers of the union into fresh hands. During this period the chairman will be Bogdan Lis, and the deputy chairman will be Stanislaw Wadolowski. They will coopt other people to help them, so that the union will function efficiently during our absence.

[Question] Apparently, during the meeting of the KKP Presidium today, a statement was made on the subject of the events in Bydgoszcz?

[Walesa] Indeed, and I am in the fortunate position of having Jas [familiar diminutive of Jan] Rulewski here with me; he can speak on this subject.

[Question] Mr Jan Rulewski?

[Rulewski] We in the union expected that the progress of our talks with the government would be much greater, especially on the subject of the events in Bydgoszcz. I must state that on the subject of Bydgoszcz events, the government side has retreated from two fundamental conditions: the punishment of those responsible for the Bydgoszcz provocation--either in the political sense or in the criminal sense--and secondly, in failing to present to this day the position of the Interfactory Founding Committee of Bydgoszcz, despite the fact that it is available in the archives. This is unfortunate and to be regretted [words indistinct]. In this situation the KKP Presidium has given its unqualified support to our Interfactory Founding Committee in its efforts aimed at maintaining calm in our region.

[Question] What was the time limit by which the question of Bydgoszcz was to have been settled?

[Rulewski] In the presentation of our position through the mass information media, and especially on television, it was said that the time limit for the settlement was to be 15 April, but the punishment of those responsible was to take place as soon as possible; yet the long drawn-out investigation is continuing beyond all limits.... [statement apparently unfinished when recording ends]

WALESA LEADS DELEGATION ON VISIT TO JAPAN

Itinerary Described

LD091018 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] At 1300 a Solidarity delegation headed by Lech Walesa will depart for Tokyo from the Warsaw Airport at Okecie today at the invitation of the Sohyo General Council of Trade Unions in Japan. The delegation is comprised, among others, of Zbigniew Bujak, chairman of the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] of Mazowsze region, and Jan Rulewski, chairman of the MKZ in Bydgoszcz. The Polish trade unionists will be staying in Japan until 16 May. Apart from Tokyo, they will be visiting (?Osaki) and Nagasaki.

Questions Before Departure

LD091850 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 May 81

[Excerpts] The delegation of NSZZ Solidarity led by Lech Walesa, left for Japan today at the invitation of the General Council Sohyo of Trade Unions. Before departing from the Okecie Airport, members of the delegation replied to questions from journalists.

[Begin recording] [Question] Has the situation in the country stabilized sufficiently to allow you to travel?

[Walesa] Naturally we have a plan. I do not remember all of it, because it is unnecessary. I think that since August many people have understood the situation, and there are many people who are capable of taking our place and achieving even better results.

In my opinion, Otwock has been settled; common sense will prevail. Mazowsze is capable of resolving all problems; and there is also the National Consultative Commission, which is particularly sensitive [word indistinct].

[Question] Does the visit have any, shall we say, political character?

[Walesa] It depends how one reads political, and what is and is not political. I have often said that there is no catalogue or book saying what is and what is not political. I think that we would like to obtain maximum benefits for our members.

[Question] How many members in the delegation?

[Unidentified speaker] There are activists, Secretariat and experts. I must list activists by names: Leszek Walesa; our lady friend, Putrykus; Bujak; Leszek Lamparski, sorry, Dymarski, [name indistinct]; me; I do have to introduce myself; and editor in chief of SOLIDARITY, Tadeusz Mazowiecki; and our lady friend from the Secretariat of KKP, Magda Wojcik

[Unidentified speaker] Our delegation is short of one interpreter, Mrs Agnieszka Zulawska, who did not get a passport. So far, we do not know the reason; she was to be delegation's interpreter. I did not introduce colleague Wilczyc, who will be our official interpreter and expert, as an prominent expert on Japanese problems. We are going for some advice, for some experience in the economic field. We would like to make use in our union work of this Japanese phenomenon, where considerable economic growth has been achieved and the living standard for working people has improved and to make use of it in proposed talks on the government stabilization program. It was not only the Japanese community, but also the government which contributed to the phenomenon.

[Question] Before departure your group went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to learn more about Japan.

[Unidentified speaker] The government presented its thesis concerning its policy toward the Far Eastern countries. It presented the Polish reason of state, and appealed to us that the reason should not suffer during our visit. We are able to guarantee with certainty that we will not act against the interests of our state, politically or otherwise. [end recording]

SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL IN ROME TALKS WITH PRESS

AU082004 Rome ANSA in English 1945 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Rome, 8 May (ANSA)--Poland's new independent trade union, Solidarity, has no plans to join any international labor organization, according to Solidarnosc Vice President Ricard Kalinowski.

The Polish labor leader announced that the only ties his union planned to have with foreign organizations will be one a bilateral level of contacts. Meeting the press at a conference organized by Italy's three major labor organizations (CGIL [Italian General Confederation of Labor], CISL [Italian Confederation of Labor Unions] and UIL [Italian Union of Labor], Kalinowski said that Solidarity, which counts 12 million Polish workers, has no relations to date with any East European unions, [word indistinct] representatives of the Warsaw Pact.

Kalinowski, who came to Rome from visits to France and Belgium, reported that the economic situation in Poland had not changed to any appreciable degree since last August. The only difference, he said, was that now the government is trying to blame the independent union [words indistinct] economic woes.

The Solidarity envoy complained that the well-meaning [word indistinct] of Polish Government leaders were too often buried under [word indistinct] intermediary red tape.

The workers, he added, have nothing against roles as such in most cases, with the people who are filling those roles. [Word indistinct] announced that representatives of Europe's major labor organizations will be invited to attend Solidarity's next congress, scheduled to take place August 31.

SOLIDARITY TO ATTEND INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

LD101734 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1300 GMT 10 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 May (PAP)--According to information from the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, representatives of the Solidarity trade union association, of the coordinating commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions and also of the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions, will be included in the Polish delegation to the meeting of the 67th session of the international labor conference which will take place from 3-25 June in Geneva.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS SOLIDARITY DOCUMENT ON ECONOMY

LD092358 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 9 May 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Stanislaw Albinowski writes in TRYBUNA LUDU about the NSZZ Solidarity document published on 17 April under the title "Trends in Union Activity in the Present Situation in the Country." Citing the weekly SOLIDARNOSC, the author states that this document contains theses for general union discussion about the program of Solidarity activity. He considers that this discussion is not restricted to the union forum alone, but hopes that voice will not be perceived as an intrusion in union matters by a party member who does not belong to Solidarity.

The introduction to the article is also important. Stanislaw Albinowski states his support for that current in Solidarity which is the bearer of the ideas of August, and for the dominant current within the party, which counts upon a victory for the constructive forces within Solidarity and which wishes to work with those forces on the basis of equality of rights and partnership.

Discussing (?their) theses relating to the economy, the author justifies their controversial character and their internal incoherence. This is illustrated by a statement denying the truth of the formulation which says that the excessive proportion of production of (?capital) goods within the whole process of production is the determining factor in the continuous and growing market imbalance. In Stanislaw Albinowski's view, in reality it is the excessive consumption of material and energy which is of fundamental importance.

Discussing the inconsistencies of the Solidarity position with regard to economic reform, the author also stresses the novelty of the theses in the area under discussion, which lies in dotting the proverbial i's in two points. Two quotations give evidence of this.

Here is the first of them:

The union recognizes that enterprises will have the right to carry out changes in the level of employment depending on their needs, but the state authorities will continue to be responsible for the implementation of a policy of full employment.

And the second quotation:

An effective participation by workforces in the profits of enterprises may deepen the differentiation of incomes of workers employed in different enterprises.

These are just some of the problems of Stanislaw Albinowski's controversial article describing the NSZZ Solidarity document. I'll just add the title of the TRYBUNA LUDU Article: "Theses With No Program in Sight."

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSES KOSOVO EVENTS

LD081600 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 7 May 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 7 May (TANJUG)--The LCY Central Committee has met in Belgrade for its 20th session in order to debate the hostile and counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo. The session was opened by Lazar Mojsov, and members of the LCY Statutory Commission and the LCY Supervisory Commission are also taking part in its work. Secretaries of the presidiums of the central and provincial committees, the secretary of the Presidium of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, the president of the Federal Council of the Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia, the president of the Conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia and the president of the Federation of Reserve Officers of Yugoslavia were called to the session. Dusan Dragosavac, Vali Deva, Vojo Srzentic, Rudi Lepej and Lazar Mojsov were elected to the working presidium. The session is being chaired by Dusan Dragosavac.

Within the framework of the first point on the agenda a decision was adopted on the verification of the changes in the composition of the LCY Central Committee and of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. According to the decision adopted today on the basis of Article No 81 of the LCY Statute, the new member of the LCY Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium is Bosko Krunic, who was recently elected the first president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina with a 1-year term of office and who is taking up his position in the LCY Central Committee to replace Dusan Alimpic, former president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina. Veli Deva, who was elected president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo at the 5 May session [of the provincial committee] to replace Mahmut Bakali, is also a new member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Veli Deva has also hitherto been a member of the LCY Central Committee.

The LCY Central Committee then moved to the second point of the agenda--the debate on the hostile and counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo. For this point in the agenda the members of the Central Committee received documents submitting a number of assessments of the causes and facts connected with the events in Kosovo. A report on the hostile and counterrevolutionary activity in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo was delivered by Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The first to take part in the discussion which began after Lazar Mojsov's opening report was Ali Sukrija. He said that in the Kosovo Provincial Committee 2 days ago on the basis of criticism and self-criticism complete unity was achieved in the assessment of the causes and consequences of the hostile and counterrevolutionary actions. He then stressed that the support of all the nations and nationalities to Yugoslavia was very important in suppressing the activity of the enemy.

Ali Sukrija then said that the counterrevolutionary and hostile activity is still continuing today in various forms--writing of slogans, attempts to distribute pamphlets, dissemination of disinformation, even as far as attempts to disrupt teaching in a number of schools and bringing the pupils out into the streets, causing a number of riots, and threats to school children and their parents who do not join in these actions. With the aim of defending peace and order, Sukrija said, the appropriate political and also legal measures are being undertaken.

The enemy's conduct, which is impudent and provocative, is aimed, he said, at constantly sowing unrest among citizens and hindering their normal life, for the activity of all categories of internal and external enemies has been expressed in the events, enemies from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, either those from positions of the Albanian Workers' (?Party), or or various Albanian emigre organizations abroad, from those of Leka Zogu to so-called Marxist-Leninist groupings supported by various foreign intelligence centers.

Ali Sukrija concurred in the assessment to the effect that what happened in Kosovo is no surprise, for the enemy has long been at work, but what was surprising was the mass nature of the escalation, the brutal attack, the penetration of a sector of school-age young people, the attempt at infiltration among workers, infiltration of a certain number of members of the League of Communists and of the other structures. Sukrija advocated that a purely formal review of intranational relations should be avoided, and criticized the practice whereby no more profound analysis had been made of the elements which have a divisive effect and led to conflict situations.

The leadership of Albania, Sukrija went on, has openly placed itself in defense of the hostile actions directed toward the destruction of Yugoslavia's constitutional order. The facts bear witness that the leadership has since 1948 in particular been obsessed with an anti-Yugoslav orientation, subversive propaganda and other acitivites, and the present open support of enemies constitutes direct interference in the internal affairs of our country. Sukrija advocated that it be thoroughly established what weaknesses and shortcomings have been present in our cooperation with Albania, while securing the necessary vigilance and readiness to come to grips with the perfidious forms of hostile activity against the unity of our peoples.

As concerns the university, serious differentiation must be carried out, and it is essential to submit to detailed criticism the entire school system, cadres, textbooks and so forth, given that the hostile activity had a base among school and student youth.

The events in Kosovo have shown how harmful are opportunist and indolent behavior, an uncritical attitude and hushing up of the real state of affairs. There was a considerable degree of lack of vigilance, liberalism and opportunism among Kosovo communists. The responsibility for the assessment of the political situation and the security situation lies, Sukrija said, with the entire Kosovo League of Communists, its Provincial Committee, and in the first place with the Presidium and also other leaderships and organs of the province.

The patient and persistent work of the League of Communists and of other organs of socialist forces is required--Sukrija said in conclusion--to undertake determined differentiation, removing from our ranks anyone who stands in positions which contradict the policy of the LCY, our self-managing system and brotherhood and unity. The League of Communists has already proved itself in this direction, but this is only the beginning, and a trend which we must pursue with determination in order that we may fully accomplish our tasks.

Having agreed with the analysis and assessments of the causes and consequences of the events in Kosovo, presented at the sessions of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, Dobrivoje Vidic said that in all the debates the fact that we have been informing our public too little about anti-Yugoslav and antisocialist propaganda carried out by the official factors and the most responsible personalities of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has been subjected to criticism. This propaganda, in his assessment, has not met with relevant commentaries and decisive resistance.

It might be said, Vidic added, that in our wish to speed up the normalization of Yugoslav-Albanian relations, which we believed and still believe to be in line with the vital interests of both countries, we have demonstrated extreme patience, but for that reason we have unfortunately also neglected the relevant information and ideopolitical work in connection with enemy political activity and propaganda coming from Tirana.

The policy of goodneighborliness, Vidic said, is built into the fabric of our socialist community because it stems from the understandable needs of every people which has a responsible attitude toward its own life and its own future and from our principled involvement in the struggle for peace and constructive international cooperation on the basis of the UN Charter, the political declarations of the Nonaligned Movement, the Helsinki documents and our other obligations of this kind which we assume in international forums and through our rich bilateral relations. By proceeding from the policy of noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries as a principle of the greatest international importance, we have always expected and expect that our other partners also accept Yugoslavia as it is, respect our sovereignty, territorial integrity and the socialist self-managing role of development as well as the constitutional order for which all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia opted with their great national liberation struggle and socialist revolution.

However, Vidic continued, Albanian official factors have not been behaving in this way toward us for decades. They do not respect the humane internationalist motives of our policy of goodneighborliness, the integrity of our country or our right to our own path of development on which we march. While we have not interfered in their choice of path on which Enver Hoxha's Albania is marching, they have subjected to the severest criticism LCY practices, the SFRY constitutional order, self-management as an essential characteristic of our entire socialist development and nonalignment as our orientation in the world divided into blocs, in a world of war threats, in a world of the struggle for peace and free development of peoples. For decades they have used every opportunity to attack the policy, the work and the personality of Comrade Tito, Kardelj and other people who are at the head of our country, in the way in which we were attacked at the time of the Cominform, saying that we are the servants of capital, traitors of socialism, revisionists, fascists, a clique which should be destroyed. Our rare reactions to all this, through diplomatic communications and in other ways, has evidently been interpreted in Tirana in a way different from our real reasons for ignoring such an attitude toward us.

When we examine this side of the Albanian-Yugoslav relations in the light of the events of March and April this year, we can say that the fault does not lie in our constructive approach to the development and the prospects of Yugoslav-Albanian relations but in neglecting mass ideopolitical work in connection with such behavior by the official factors of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Vidic said that we should have come forward much more actively with the necessary information and with our interpretation of this activity by Albania at the international level, in international forums, with the governments of UN members as well as with communist, socialist and other workers' and progressive parties and movements.

Such political statements as Enver Hoxha's election speech of 8 November 1978, in which he stressed that Albanians in Yugoslavia, both by the size of "their territory" as well as by the number of inhabitants represent as much as two Yugoslav republics together "and even more" that they are a united people but that they are deliberately "dispersed" in two republics and one autonomous province, and that Albanians in Yugoslavia have no constitutional rights...are particularly hostile and calculated to inflict damage to our country.

As our assessment rightly notes, in his speech Enver Hoxha in fact calls for the unification of Albanians in Yugoslavia, that is, for a change in the constitutional organization of the SFRY. This is also the root of the slogan which the irredentist elements are now advertising about Albanians not being Yugoslavs, about their having a right to their own Albanian republic; all of us can observe how in his speech Enver Hoxha does not speak of territories on which Albanians live mixed with Serbs, Montenegrins, Macedonians and other nationalities as a territory of the SFRY but refers to this territory as the "territory of the Albanians."

All this undoubtedly represents crude interference in the internal affairs of our country and openly demonstrates the irredentist territorial aspirations toward the SFRY.

Vidic then went on to present other examples of such interference and claims, saying: "If we add to this political activity by the official circles of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania our own ideopolitical and other kinds of passive attitude in connection with this and the tolerance of a very narrow and fairly negative content of cultural and educational relations reduced to the largest extent to Albanians in Kosovo, then we can perfectly understand the kind of damage we have had to suffer with regard to the influence of such a hostile anti-Yugoslav and antisocialist activity coming from Tirana and directed at our country, which has found favorable conditions among school youth and students and among a number of cultural workers of the Albanian nationality."

Stressing that at the meeting of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee and at yesterday's session of the Serbia League of Communists Central Committee a very convincing analysis was submitted to the effect that the socioeconomic development of Kosovo in Yugoslavia could not have in any way whatsoever been one of the causes which led to unrest of this kind, Vidic said that irredentism as the nationalist policy of greater Albanian factors and tendencies represents export goods. He substantiated this assessment with articles published in ZERI I POPULLIT.

However, Vidic continued, at yesterday's session of the Serbia League of Communists Central Committee we heard numerous convincing statements in the debate to the effect that our own socioeconomic and cultural development, if not correctly directed, could fuel nationalism and irredentism. It is with impermissible delay that we have criticized in the last few days facts such as public statements made from time to time by some leaders in Kosovo, who went so far as to maintain that the LCY has abandoned its policy with regard to the tasks of the speediest development of Kosovo with the aim of reducing more quickly the differences in the development of this province in relations to other republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, as well as the conspicuous omissions, lack of thought and shortcomings in the economic and cultural development structure including severe problems of employment.

Vidic then said that in the Republic of Serbia particular attention is paid to all aspects linked with the manipulation of the slogan "Kosovo--a republic" by irredentist elements in their recent actions. He noted that the Socialist Republic of Serbia is the republic of the Serbian nation and of the nationalities living in it, and that precisely because of this specific aspect it has two autonomous provinces. In recent days we have been receiving letters, Vidic added, in which some citizens for greater Serbian or other unacceptable reasons advocate the abolition of the autonomous provinces.

Such views are contrary to the entire policy of building equitable relations among all nations and nationalities, and they do not take into account the results which we have achieved to date in our country in this respect and which cement the firmness of our entire federal structure. The unpleasant events in Kosovo did not come about because of too much or too little independence and autonomy of this province within the framework of Serbia and Yugoslavia but because of deliberate and intentional provocation of such events by the enemies of our socialist community and in whose context certain circumstances, in particular our errors and opportunism, were grist to the mill of those events.

Speaking about some aspects of the recent events in Kosovo, Vidic said that some teachers and professors inhumanly manipulated the Albanian young people because they did not bear in mind either the interests of the Albanian people or the future of the Albanian youth.

In fanning nationalistic chauvinism among the young who have not yet formed stable views of life, they are acting inhumanly, without the dignity of the high vocation of the educator of younger generations, because to call upon young people and to lead them in unbridled nationalist attacks on the internationalist fabric of our self-managing socialist order, in which Albanians too have all the freedoms and rights as the Serbs and the Montenegrins and all others in our country have, is to betray the basic meaning of the noble vocation of an educator regardless of in which country a man practices this vocation. Thus such people are not worthy and cannot remain in such posts, Dobrivoje Vidic said among other things.

Hisen Ramadani agreed with the already expressed assessment about the events in Kosovo, at the same time supporting the stances, actions and measures which have been taken. He emphasized that the Albanian nationalism and irredentism were directed against Yugoslavia as a whole, against the position and togetherness of the Albanian nationality with other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

The enemies are particularly bothered by our national policy, Ramadani said, the policy of brotherhood and unity, equality and togetherness which permanently links the Albanian nationality with the Yugoslav nations and the socialist self-managing essence of Yugoslavia. The enemy's rage is a proof of his nervousness, of his feeling that he has lost ground under his feet. Nationalists and irredentists are aware that the increasingly numerous working class and intelligentsia from the ranks of Albanians are objectively becoming an ever firmer bulwark against their hostile and counterrevolutionary intentions. This is why they are misleading the credulous and the ignorant, young people and even children. In the Socialist Republic of Macedonia the aims of the activity of hostile groups are being unmasked and Albanian nationalism and irredentism unanimously denounced, and this also applies to any other nationalism which is or may be appearing. The mass support for our policy is a proof that brotherhood and unity will be permanently safeguarded.

Ramadani especially emphasized that the Albanians in Macedonia, as well as other nations and nationalities, are exasperated by the slogan about a republic of all Albanians in Yugoslavia. In every republic and province, including Macedonia, the Albanian nationality is an integral and constituting part of the political, social and constitutional system of its republic and thus also of the whole country. This part of the Albanian nationality and any other nationality in Yugoslavia thus do not need paternalism and caring for their souls. They are mature enough to hold their destiny in their own hands.

Our message to all enemies is that we will unshakably continue on Tito's road of development, Ramadani emphasized, adding that all other systems and relations are alien to the Albanian nationality. All Albanians thus have a duty to work persistently on the elminiation of nationalism and irredentism. Our revolution has emerged stronger from every battle, Ramadani said. He expressed his certainty that this battle too would prove our determination and the unshakable nature of our self-managing soialist road.

Franc Popit said that although the hostile outbreak of nationalism and Albanian irredentism in Kosovo could not endanger the integrity of Yugoslavia--as recently unanimously assessed by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, this outbreak nevertheless deeply upset all our republics, all our working people, nations and nationalities, including the large majority of the Albanian nationality which lives in three socialist republics and on the border of the neighboring Republic of Albania. It has again been shown that all anti-socialist and antiself-management forces try to oppose socialist self-management and the League of Communists under the banner of nationalism and chauvinism. Nationalism is resilient and we must not thus underestimate it, Popit said, regardless of in which environment it appears or how it change its slogans because it still has roots in our society.

Just as no nationalism is definitely defeated, none is harmless. They are all irreconcilable adversaries of equality of nations and nationalities and our togetherness, progress and development in general.

Popit said, whoever today under the banner of struggle for freedom of his nation or nationality is undermining the constitutional foundations of Socialist Yugoslavia and is forcing a change in the constitutional position of his community, sovereignty and integrity of Yugoslavia and inviolability of our borders, is harming his own people, their economic and cultural development, provoking nationalist hatred also among other peoples and thus also harming the nonaligned positions of Yugoslavia, its role and prestige in the world. These phenomena not only expose Yugoslavia to stronger blows by foreign hegemonistic forces, which exploit every weakness for the affirmation of their long-term interests, but are also objectively useful to the forces of war, at the moment cold war; but as this is a "hot area," in which a conflict cannot have only local dimensions, the consequences can also be much more serious. It is clear, however, that all peace-loving forces in the world are for this reason resolutely interested in the cohesion of Yugoslavia, in a firm and united Yugoslavia.

It must be said that we do not deny the Albanian nation which lives in the Republic of Albania the right to care for its national minority, but Albania has no right to manipulate this minority. Such action also objectively weakens Albania's position.

After emphasizing that the consequences of the Kosovo events cannot be overcome without a persistent struggle for self-management, togetherness and equality of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities, Popit said that this struggle requires a comprehensive analysis of all that has happened.

He urged that a critical assessment be made of the ability, level of organization and activity of socialist subjective forces as a whole.

In continuing his speech, Popit said that lack of work among the masses and of decision-making by the working people strengthened technocratic and bureaucratic forces. By moving only slowly away from the system in which the bureaucratic and economic apparatus makes decisions on social reproduction, we limit the possibilities for faster development and strengthening of the role of workers in the basic organizations of associated labor, thus also limiting the possibilities for free associating of work and resources. Because of this, we are also too slowly overcoming structural problems in every republic and province and in Yugoslavia as a whole, making investments in an inefficacious manner and ignoring the objective economic laws of production in conditions of socialist self-management. These problems have been drastically intensified in Kosovo and are reflected in the disproportion between the income possibilities of the economic structure and the development of social superstructure, in the disproportion between the key industry and the processing industry, in the lagging behind of the development of agriculture and rural areas, in social differences and so forth.

For these and other reasons, Popit continued, the bases of the future development of Kosovo are not unimportant. "The concentration of resources on the state basis causes negative social tendencies. This concentration is outdated not only from the social but also from the economic viewpoint. Its role is over. A different development policy, based on the associating of work and resources, which firmly links the working class of Kosovo with the working class in the republican and Yugoslav dimensions, must now be given priority. Such economic integration and linking of the working class will at the same time represent the basis of true togetherness of the nations and nationalities in Kosovo with other nations and nationalities in the republic and Yugoslavia," Popit said. In conclusion, he urged that conditions be created through agreement-making to put together 50 percent of resources of the federation's fund for the purpose of stimulating faster development of the economically less developed republics and especially Kosovo.

Petar Stombolic said that today in the conditions of great migrational movements, bonds between people and interlacing of interests there is no question of gathering together the members of a nation within the same state borders. The aspirations for ethnic purity objectively lead to the development of nationalism and chauvinism, the aims which the fascists set themselves and tried to achieve in the past.

We have never held the view that borders between states and peoples should be changed, but that they should be opened, Stambolic said. This is the principle to which our country adheres in its relations with the other neighboring countries in which there are members of the Yugoslav peoples. These are the principles on which we develop relations with these countries. This principle means looking ahead and not into the past and contains the interests of the working class. After stating that we spent years and decades building brotherhood and unity and equality of nations in Kosovo, Petar Stambolic stated that the enemy's action dealt a serious blow to this unity. Relations among the Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and Turks have been seriously shaken. He expressed his deep conviction that the communists of Kosovo, above all Albanians, will create the conditions in which all citizens, members of all the nationalities, will feel that they are secure and equal, just as the communists of all the other republics and of the Province of Kosovo must continue to struggle for the equality of Albanians who live and work there.

Speaking about relations with Albania, Petar Stambolic stressed that we had thought that our two countries were naturally inclined to promote reciprocal cooperation and that we had striven to support Albania's independent position. This is why for years we ignored the hostile campaign incessantly pursued against Yugoslavia from Tirana.

Stambolic went on to say that Albania's internal development had not proceeded in harmony with the general development trends in the world and establishment of links with the rest of the world. The extreme development of a bureaucratic Stalinist system in Albania had not been in the interest of the Albanian people and had to lead to complete stagnation. On the other hand, there was a preponderance of the state apparatus and police and a crude violation of all rights, ranging to religious programs. They considered there that pulling down religious buidings and banning the right to express religious convictions meant the development of socialism.

When such a system comes face to face with its own contradictions and crises, they see the danger in the development of the self-managing system in Yugoslavia. They look for the way out in attacks on Yugoslavia and its system and now in the adventurous attempt by nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo.

The solutions to their problems lie in another direction and this policy against Yugoslavia harms the basic interests of the Albanian people. We adhere to the basic principles of our policy toward all countries, including neighboring ones, but we shall resolutely reject any foreign interference in our internal affairs, Stambolic stressed.

After pointing out a number of shortcomings in the League of Communists, such as opportunism and insufficient militancy, Stambolic said that we had nevertheless appraised organizations of the League of Communists and the League of Communists as a whole as being in the process of constant improvement, numerical growth and consolidation of ties with the working class. We shall continue to check our assessments until the 12th LCY Congress, but I consider them to be basically right.

However, Stambolic added, it is a fact that the League of Communists failed in Kosovo in the case of this hostile action.

The attack by the enemy sobered up the communists in Kosovo but a large number of communists there had already earlier seen the direction in which things were moving and tried to oppose it. Though we do not yet know the complete answer, priority is being given in the discussion to the lack of vigilance in the attitude to nationalism. Communists from the ranks of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo lost sight of the borderline between the national affirmation of the Albanian nationality and the point where the kind of nationalism begins which provides the foundations for irredentism. Communists have always lost their battle when they compromised with nationalism.

This is a case of the lack of vigilance, Stambolic went on, but not all things can be reduced to this. Certain kinds of behavior, the attitude to the federation and the republic, and the bureaucratic battle for the elements of statehood in the province and not for the development of self-management stemmed from nationalist sentiments and kept returning as the new source for nationalism. This example, too, shows the extent to which nationalism is a blindness which cannot see either class or genuine national interests.

All this shows that in our development the force of socialism and self-management have not become predominant enough to be able to preclude counterrevolutionary attacks on our system. This again confirms that the League of Communists is indispensable to us as an integral part of the system, as a leading force, responsible for the rule by the working class, as a cohesive force of our system, Petar Stambolic said.

He added that there is nothing that needs to be changed in the foundations of the system of intranational relations which we are building. What we should do is develop them. However, the fact that a sociopolitical community with a leadership in which bureaucratic and etatist elements predominate is contrary to our system, that it has closed itself within itself to such an extent that any fundamental critical insight into conditions and relations was received by it as a violation of its imagined sovereignty. I do not go very far if I say that this violated the principle of democratic centralism which is compulsory for the League of Communists and which is an inseparable part of the principles on which the League of Communists was built. There are problems which can be overcome by themselves, but out experience shows that cases of this kind are rare, Petar Stambolic said. Stambolic described as a weakness the fact that it had not been understood that the League of Communists, as a cohesive force, has a new dimension in its role precisely in the development of the self-managing system, in which different interests manifested themselves. It must be clear that the decisions of the leadership of the League of Communists are binding on the members of the League of Communists and also that these decisions must be the product of new and different relations, of self-management in which there is a harmonization of relations between the grass roots and the leadership. The events in Kosovo are a blow to our community but if we gain all the experiences from this blow they may prove to be valuable, Stambolic stressed.

He noted that the session of the Provincial Committee left the impression that the communists of Kosovo have joined battle with nationalism and irredentism. This can be seen in open criticism and self-criticism and also in the clear and resolute orientation toward battling with the enemy. I am deeply convinced, Petar Stambolic said at the end, that communists and the working class of Kosovo will succeed in this. In this struggle they will have support from the whole of our society.

We have information, assessments and conclusions about the past events in Kosovo but what will be necessary is a Marxist analysis of the link between the causes and consequences and of the reflection of individual events also on the trends of our sociopolitical relations, Bosko Krunic stressed.

The time has come, he went on, for revolutionary political action and differentiation. The events in Kosovo also remain the immediate subject and reason for all of the LCY activity.

At the end of the report by the working group of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, the need was mentioned to discuss in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo the extent to which the experiences and practice so far have been in line with the SFRY Constitution and the Socialist Republic of Serbia. I agree, Krunic said, that this should be done, from the point of view of the constitutions of both provinces. In this connection, in Bosko Krunic's view, problems should be reduced to what they really are. In this sense we accept the approaches laid down in Comrade Mojsov's report, in the report by Comrade Vlaskalic at yesterday's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia. If we do not stick to this approach there is the danger of some unconstructive debates escaping control and of our returning to the confusion of the issues of national policy, federal system and self-managing constitution of society which have been clarified a long time ago. Therefore, we must be both open and critical of our own practice as well as cautious in the approach to the problems of implementation of the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province.

He stressed that what should be borne in mind is the escalation of nationalism and separatism as well as of centralism in present conditions. "Support" and "allies" will emerge from whom we have to dissociate ourselves, allies whose ideas and ambitions aim outside the framework of our program orientations and constitutional order and which exceed the borders of the republics and provinces.

Krunic continued that he would like to say a bit more about the much referred to enemy thesis about a republic in Kosovo and about the problems of the position of the Socialist Republic of Serbia in the way in which they are elaborated. I think, Krunic stressed, that these subjects should under no circumstances be brought into some kind of organic link. This would be very dangerous. In principle one could speak about the linkup in as much as it is needed for us to direct correctly the ideopolitical action to expose the theses about the Kosovo republic.

Krunic said that we need not accept a dialogue with separatists, centralists and nationalists of any kind about which represents the gains of our revolution and the historical order of constituting our community. In this context, for instance, I believe that the fact about the development of autonomy not being some kind of automatic process and particularly not usurping the functions of the republic is not sufficiently explained. This development is a component and organic part of the entire development of our federalism and our revolution.

Having endorsed the attitudes and assessments manifested at the sessions of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo and of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, Slavko Sajber said that his impression was that today we are speaking much more about the enemy than about ourselves, though the enemy should also be talked about. I believe that one should not speak only about the consequences but also about the causes, because the enemy is one of the causes. However, it is not the only cause, and, if I may use a phrase, the League of Communists practically cannot speak about anything in this country in the third person because only where we are not present is there somebody else there, and only where we have failed does somebody else sow, gather and reap.

Sajber said that it was not good that only the political and security situation from the local community to the federation was continually discussed--this after all is not incorrect--but one had to see what this serves and for what it is a smokescreen. What is present is a grave economic situation, stagnation in self-managing relations, a drop in the standard, and so forth.

It could be said that the political situation is in order, that the majority of the people are for self-managing socialism and that the majority is for a nonaligned Yugoslavia, for brotherhood and unity.

On the other hand, however, we have heard many times or have read about problems which have emerged on the market and about disruptions on the market. It seems to me that we have passed over these matters rather easily. Is it necessary to irritate the people so much with some kind of detergent or with milk--when this is not necessary? Had this been necessary we would not have irritated anybody because the people would have understood what the situation was. Therefore, Slavko Sajber noted, the situations in which we need not have found ourselves have created some dissatisfaction, and among the dissatisfied the sphere of enemy activity is considerably more efficient than if this were not the case. In particular, when communists too are not carrying out their function and do not work as they should; this together yields its own results and what happened in Kosovo happened because of that.

I speak today, Sajber continued, only about our problems because it is not time to speak at length about results achieved. I proceed from the fact, Sajber said, that belittling, talking in cliches, making things nicer and distorting them represents an evil as big as dramatization.

Up to a few days ago, we were receiving unbelievable reports, such as, for instance, that after all that had happened the intranational relations were not disrupted, that it was only a matter of little groups, "a few misguided people." Even now, as far as I know there are some reports which are incorrect. It is wrong for the communists to speak like this. I have the feeling that we have lost the party manner of speaking, party manner of work, and this is only a small step to formal, verbal and bad work and action. We have a large number of vital functions in society which we have made frivolous through simplification and beautification.

Speaking about the irresponsibility of communists, Sajber illustrated this assessment with the fact that people leave their posts or we force them to leave when excesses occur. However, when processes go wrong I do not know of anyone who resigns, who is forced to resign or who is replaced. I do not mean only from political functions but this is also so in the basic organizations of associated labor, local communities and so on.

We explain difficulties, Sajber continued, with the fact that we invested too much, that we built up too many debts and that we spend more than we create. Basically, Sajber said, all this is quite correct. However, when we tell the working man to tighten his belt because of it, the comment is uncomfortable because we know that the worker, unfortunately, due to our still undeveloped self-management, often missed his chance to influence the size of investments. This is done by the technical structure. The worker also did not influence the size of the debt because this too was done by the technocratic and bureaucratic structure, while he, the worker, with his personal income and influence on expenditure was not an essential factor in all this.

Slavko Sajber urged that a forthcoming session of the LCY Central Committee should be devoted to all open questions in our socioeconomic development in order to distribute and intensify to a greater degree the responsibility of the communists for the implementation of set tasks.

I fully support the report by Comrade Lazar Mojsov and his proposal of tasks which emanate from this report and our session, Bosko Siljegovic said earlier. We heard several political reports and political explanations of events in Kosovo. This does not mean however, that we have all the relevant information, analyses and political motives which led to demonstrations and irredentist demands in Kosovo. Even before this session we knew basically enough, and today we have enough data to enable the LCY Central Committee to undertake corresponding political measures, that is, to enable the LCY to be politically successful in the struggle against hostile actions of the kind which occurred in Kosovo in March and April.

We must use the events in Kosovo as an experience and see in these difficulties above all ourselves, the shortcomings in the work of our Central Committee and the LCY, Siljegovic said.

The hostile demonstrations in Kosovo took place parallel with the open political territorial demands by neighboring Albania. Such demands against our country were also raised by the leadership of the People's Republic of Albania at the time of the Cominform. While at that time these territorial claims were made--and not only ideologically--in keeping with Stalin's policy, they are being raised today by a socialist country which is independent and which does not belong to blocs. They are being raised against neighboring nonaligned Socialist Yugoslavia which has a great reputation in the world, especially among the nonaligned countries.

How the nationalism saw the so-called balance of forces on the eve of demonostrations is difficult to say. Very likely they were encouraged by the fact that their exercises and occasional tests during 1979 and before passed well for them because of our easy and carefree attitude towards previous nationalist attacks. With this experience they were perhaps also emotionally impressed by the local support of some individuals and groups.

When we adopted the Constitution and the constitutions of republics and provinces we considered associated labor and self-managing relations to be the essential precondition for the affirmation of the republics and provinces. However, when difficulties arose in the economy of Yugoslavia, in the economies of the republics and provinces, they were explained away by undeveloped self-managing relations, the nonexistence of income relations and so on. At the same time, some other republic, some other province, is being blamed for all this--and not "my" republic or province.

Dane Cuic began by stressing that there were serious shortcomings in a considerable number of the members and leading cadres of the LC with regard to awareness, ideological development, revolutionary orientation, militancy and activity. At times it seems as though we were in a situation more in line with a mass political party than with a revolutionary, class organization, a league of people with the same ideological views and of fighters for socialism. Lack of ideological profile and too widely spread and insufficient ideological-political-training work are the basic causes of lack of clarity, inconsistency and wavering within the League of Communists, as well as of the most painful aspect: the passive attitude of some members and individual organizations and even weakness in situations calling for action.

There is wavering, lack of clarity and inconsistency in the LC, both among some of the members and in some of the leading forums--even on certain key questions. For the sake of illustration, we have not yet by far achieved the necessary degree of resolve and clarity with regard to the development of self-management. There are also divided views on nationalism and unity and the brotherhood of nations and nationalities in our community. At times it is considered that nationalism can be a temporary ally in the interests of achieving political aims. How else can one explain that Enver Hoxha's despotic Stalinism is closer to some of the young of Kosovo than the working class of Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro and others?

It is justifiably stressed, Cuic said, that the enemy proved himself to be able, well organized and skillfully guided through all the actions which he embarked on. He added that it seemed to him that there was an even more correct appraisal, the one saying that we had been poorly organized, ineffective, insufficiently active and extremely lacking in vigilance, so that with such a state of affairs any enemy would end up being dangerous and perfidious. Shortcomings of this kind in the LC and its forums were almost automatically passed on to other organizations as well, to state organs and service and to the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection.

The question is: To what extent were the LC and its members and forums linked with the masses, the working class and youth? How could these ties be so weak that communists were unable to resist more forcefully and resolutely and to lead those people who were not chauvinists and irredentists? The answer to this question is neither easy nor short. The comrades from Kosovo can best answer this themselves. However, what can be used as a lesson for the future concerns the bureaucratization of the leading LC organs, the forum-type approach to work, insufficient criticism and in particular neglect for self-criticism of one's own work, opportunism, isolation, inefficiency, playing down problems, measures and actions which are not public enough and the monopolist practice adopted by political forums with regard to decisionmaking and public appraisal of social problems. In our leaderships there are communists who behave pompously and unself-critically, who consider that their views, behavior and positions are inviolable. For instance, if associated labor had decided the size of the university in Pristina and of some other universities, they would most likely look different today.

Now when we are analyzing the causes, it is no coincidence nor unexpected that in certain environments alien to us as well as in individuals within the LC views are also coming to the fore on how self-management, our orientation toward a democratic course of the development of socialism, the policy of nonalignment and the concept of all-people's defense are to blame for all this, just as they had envisaged and pointed out a long time ago. This type of political obstruction is legitimate in all similar situations, both in the development of our revolution and in history in general. It is no coincidence that this is in line with attitudes and slogans of the past well known to us about our not yet being ready for the revolution, about it being illusory to liberate ourselves, etc. Tito's motto in similar situations had been: Forward even more decisively along the chosen course and toward the goal. And in this case, too, this motto means for us to go forward even more decisively on the path of self-management, even more democratic freedoms and rights, even more rights for the working class.

From the point of view of the defense, independence and territorial integrity of the SFRY, we must draw relevant lessons from the events in Kosovo, Cuic stressed. We must in practice realize the organization of all-people's defense at a level achieved in the development of self-management and at the realized level of brotherhood and political unity, while at the same time using this mechanism in the context of all other measures in the realization of our entire policy.

I believe that with my statement a reply has also been given at least to some extent to the question heard occasionally, whether the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection had failed. It would be both dangerous and harmful to call into question a system which is a real expression of our social development and which makes possible the broadest, efficient organization and involvement of all structures of our society in defense. What has failed is the organization and the subjective factor, the people and their political orientation, the will and the desire but not the system.

The recent events in Kosovo have evidently shown in this respect that again, this time drastically, political stability is to a large extent the basis of our work in the sphere of all-people's defense and self-protection and the condition of the implementation of the concept of all-people's defense. Weaknesses and failures by subjective forces and the consequences of these weaknesses also reflect negatively on our possibilities for defense and self-protection.

It has also been demonstrated, Cuic went on, that the continuity of our revolution, the safeguarding of our country's independence and its ability to rebuff potential aggressors and their fifth column instruments and our ability to wage successfully a war and at the same time defeat the fifth column, depend on the ideological and action ability of the LCY, of the militant and revolutionary character of its leadership and all of its organizations.

Therefore, part of the responsibility for the development of events on 25-26 March is also borne by the LCY Central Committee, because it had not demanded a thorough examination of the causes and exponents of organized enemy activity on 11 March 1981, and before those events had not noticed the problems which it is its duty to notice and to resolve. The responsibility for the situation in Kosovo as well as the situation in the other parts of Yugoslavia is borne by the LC of the republics and provinces before their working class and people and by the LCY leading organs, too, as a whole. Of course, this also applies to the LCY organization in the Army.

Although we have never had it easy since the war, we have nevertheless never been in a more complex situation. What I take into consideration as a significant factor of such an assessment, Nikola Stojanovic stressed, is also the fact that Tito is no longer among us.

The enemy will, he said, continue to try, having been encouraged by events in Kosovo and in other spheres, to create a complex and crisis situation in some sensitive areas. It is difficult to say specifically where, but I think that it is very important also to bear in mind our situation in terms of the standard of living of the various categories of the population as well as problems linked with losses which have existed for some time, growing difficulties in paying personal income regularly, problems linked with the normal trends in reproduction and certain problems relating to supplies. Therefore, we have to concentrate on all these issues and eliminate the causes more efficiently through specific activity. We must not provide any reasons and not allow anybody to doubt or to have any illusions about our unity, even in cases where we have different views on some issues and their practical solution.

We should learn some lessons from the events in Kosovo, because there are also other attempts, which have been more or less successful, at indoctrination on various antiself-management and antisocialist platforms everywhere. The worst mistake would be to believe that this does not exist.

We in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in discussing various issues, have come to the conclusion that it would be a good thing to concern ourselves more than heretofore with questions such as the problems of the Albanian people in our republic, because in the town of Sarajevo there are about 15,000 Albanians, Nikola Stojanovic said.

Stressing first that the events in Kosovo call for thorough analysis and that a program of long term action should be worked out for the normalization of the situation in the province, Vojo Srzentic pointed out the need for a critical appraisal of the shortcomings in the LCY and in society as a whole.

The events in Kosovo must be a sufficiently serious warning to us of the need to reexamine the practice and behavior in our country, which must be done in the interests of the further stable development of Yugoslavia on the foundations of socialist self-management, Srzentic stressed. The LCY has the historical responsibility to identify courageously and openly all the problems and difficulties which hinder the more rapid development of socialist self-management and the further consolidation of Yugoslavia's integration on these foundations and to be at the head of the action of all the organized socialist forces of our society in the struggle for the elimination of difficulties and problems.

The events in Kosovo show what can happen when communists' vigilance and responsibility slacken, when there is no day-to-day uncompromising struggle against all the nationalist phenomena. They show that lack of vigilance, opportunism, the tendency to underestimate things, lack of timely reaction and approval of nationalism objectively amount to nationalism and open up the room needed by the class opponents for their activity, which could also lead to the strengthening of counterrevolutionary tendencies.

Srzentic emphasized that in the present stage of our development the LCY should initiate a principled debate on the realization of the policy of national equality, analyze the socioeconomic, political and other circumstances which affect intranational relations and search for way to promote them.

These events also make it necessary for the League of Communists to concern itself more seriously with the situation among the young. Organized work with young people is quite neglected and in some environments there is no organized work at all. The youth organization is not very effective and its work consists largely of the work done by the forums and the leadership of the organization. The League of Communists should very seriously analyze the situation among the young and begin to deal more effectively with a number of problems which are of the greatest importance for their life.

Srzentic also noted that we are not monitoring the situation, developments and mood in the working class in the necessary manner. Usually we issue generalized appraisals, though even the working class is stratified, because sections of the working class live in different material and other conditions. Our appraisal will be far more realistic also if our self-managing system is able to defend itself on its own from various blows. For instance, we make quite favorable general appraisals of the system of self-protection but, as an example, in Kosovo this was shown not to be quite true, since some of the defense and self-protection mechanism failed. For this reason too we must have a closer and more subtle appraisal of the subjective socialist forces in this connection, with the aim of ensuring the better functioning of this system.

Vlado Janzic said that the hostile forces had achieved all they had in Kosovo not because they were strong but primarily because of the hesitation and ideological disorientation of the League of Communists over a long period of time. He said that there are technocratic, dogmatic and other forces which stubbornly oppose the LCY policy on the liberation of the working class and labor.

I consider, Janzic said, that the LCY did not insist firmly enough on the need for all the development programs to ensure the maximum economic results and to make a contribution to the consolidation of social and economic stability in the areas concerned. I believe that the example of the latest events in Kosovo clearly shows the extent of the damage which the policy of underestimating the need for the struggle against the nationalist forces can cause us and is causing us. Every communist, every League of Communists organization and all the leaderships must draw all the necessary lessons from this with regard to their own work and political struggle.

Even greater damage can be caused by any form of tolerance for the activity of nationalist forces, especially if it is based on the erroneous calculation that their activity can in the final analysis and in some other way also have a "positive" effect, as it allegedly strengthens the positions of some of the territorial-political communities in the federation, Janzic said at the end of his speech.

Ramis Abduli stressed that our organized forces had left enough empty space for the enemy's activity. In this connection he asked how it was possible that what has now been said at the session of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee, the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee and today was not known before. Where was the Central Committee? Here lie the roots of the responsibility borne not only by the communists of Kosovo. Abduli also warned that flirting [koketiranje], tactical moves, opportunist behavior, lack of militancy and sitting on the fence by communists were certain to lead to crises. This has also proved true in Kosovo.

Speaking about the problems of Kosovo's development, Abduli stressed that the rational use of resources in the construction of projects of vital importance is more necessary in Kosovo than anywhere else in the country.

Constructing a sports stadium for 40,000 spectators in a part of Mitrovica in which people have no drinking water and no sewers is a textbook example of what should not be done, Abduli said.

An essential question, on which further success of the League of Communists actions depends, is the question of League of Communists activity among the working class, among the working masses, for the building of new social relations, such as the development of self-management.

It would be good to examine critically this attitude toward self-management, Milutin Baltic emphasized, because in Kosovo and other places there are theses which argue that there are no conditions for the development of self-management because of insufficient economic development, that there is a lack of that basis on which to build self-management. I would not like to repeat what Comrade Tito said in 1950 in connection with the adoption of the law on workers councils, but the fact is that at that time Yugoslavia had by far lower national income than Kosovo has today.

The strengthening of the Yugoslav community is the key question. This Yugoslavia is a factor of peace and security in Europe. In this respect, Baltic said, it is also necessary to view the slogan about a "republic" in a properly critical manner and to show that far from representing a way out it leads directly to the provocation of conflicts. Conflicts are not only an internal matter, they have international dimensions. Are we to allow the blocs to struggle for their domination over Yugoslavia--because if this is so, then we and the Albanian people will pay the highest price.

In conclusion, Baltic spoke about the problems of youth education and said that special attention must be paid to it.

We were lulled by the mood of the masses during Comrade Tito's illness and on the occasion of his death, while the enemy abundantly exploited this, Vaska Duganova emphasized.

The events in Kosovo showed that the enemy watchfully followed our behavior and exploited our every weakness, lack of vigilance and inactivity. How else can we explain the fact that a few days before the demonstrations in Kosovo the comrades from Kosovo spoke in the Central Committee about the favorable security and political situation in Kosovo? The question is, Duganova emphasized, whether we have the right to behave like this and enable the enemy to upset the whole Yugoslav community. No one, she said, has the right to behave so irresponsibly in this country.

The nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia have paid a very high price for the construction of socialist, self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia, the brotherly community of all nations and nationalities. The material, Duganova observed, correctly pointed out that the difficulties in the economic development of Kosovo were explained by a one-sided assessment to the effect that Kosovo is short of resources for faster economic development. We never heard either from Kosovo or from other republics how the fund for the undeveloped areas was used and what effects it had.

Milos Minic expressed the view that it is increasingly clear that foreign factors, above all Albania and emigre centers in Europe and America, and some other foreign factors played a very important role in the long preparations, encouragement and very likely also in the direct organization of the hostile activity in Kosovo. There was an extraordinary lack of vigilance and caution as regards this activity and to some extent also naivete, above all on the part of our political forces and state organs in Kosovo and not only in Kosovo.

The role of Albania was paramount. By the article in ZERI I POPULLIT and other radio and television broadcasts, the activity of other information media and the entire Albanian diplomacy, including the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade, Albania itself revealed its full engagement and involvement in the Kosovo events.

Albania is pursuing a dual policy toward Yugoslavia: on the one hand the development of economic, cultural and other cooperation, where it is interested, and on the other a hostile nationalist and irredentist policy.

We accepted the development of goodneighborly cooperation with the deepest conviction that this was in the long-term interest of both countries. Besides, this also stems from the basic principles and aims of our foreign policy as a whole, especially toward neighboring countries, and it is also in the interest of security and preservation of independence of Yugoslavia and Albania. Even now we do not have to change this policy, Minic said, adding that there is no need to change it unless further anti-Yugoslav action by Albania and its behavior and policy toward Yugoslavia require it. It is now clear that we made a mistake in underestimating so much the ideological propaganda and political action from Albania and other actions. This is now going against us. We should not have given up almost all reaction to the attacks from Albania. We should not have left the public and especially young people throughout the country, and particularly in Kosovo, uninformed about the actual situation in Albania. We should have explained this Albanian version of Stalinism, the kind of regime that is in Albania. We should not have left our public completely uninformed about this. Had we done so, there would have been fewer misled young people of Albanian nationality in Kosovo. We must further correct this, Minic said, adding that this should not turn into a campaign against Albania and the Albanian people, as this would certainly not be our aim. We must act in a very well thought out manner, he emphasized.

Also, for no serious reason at all we allowed Albania to limit its relations with Yugoslavia mostly to cooperation with Kosovo, especially in the sphere of culture and education. This too should be fully rectified in the future. In the policy and propaganda from Albania nationalism is clad in the clothes of socialism, of Marxism-Leninism. We should not have been and should not be so confident that our self-managing system makes our people immune to influences such as those from Albania, for instance.

The irredentist action from Albania, Minic continued, had and has real prospects and the objective conditions needed, as has been shown by the events in Kosovo, to influence with its anti-Yugoslav propaganda sections of our young people, primarily, and certain sections of the intelligentsia of Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia. To the mind of uninformed young people this may look like a dispute between two socialist countries, because this Albanian nationalism clad in the clothes of Marxism-Leninism is not the same, I assume, as bourgeois nationalism though essentially there is no difference, Minic said. All this should be made as clear as possible by ideological, political, educational and cultural work throughout Yugoslavia, especially in the Albanian nationality's environments and in particular among the young.

The events in Kosovo drastically demonstrated that the aim of the Albanian irredentists is to destroy the federal order and the brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, and that the ultimate aim is to break up Yugoslavia. Minic went on to say that by its policy Albania has openly defended the demands for a "republic," that it has done so very brutally, and that it has interfered very brutally in Yugoslavia's internal affairs.

In view of the fact that the Albanian propaganda and diplomatic actions are trying to discredit our country as leading a double-faced policy in connection with the question of national minorities, I wish to refer to this, Milos Minic said. I consider our duty is to resist this with corresponding activity. We have on our side the enormous positive results of our national policy, the policy which we built over many years together with Comrade Tito.

The League of Communists can be proud of this policy and its results. One of the comrades was right when he said that nowhere in the world was the national question resolved in the way it was solved in Yugoslavia. We can thus easily unmask this action from Albania despite the impression which the Kosovo events made abroad.

We have clearly formulated our policy toward our minorities in neighboring countries. This policy proceeds from the priority importance of goodneighborly relations and cooperation. Our interest in the minorities proceeds from the (?concept) that they should be bridges of cooperation with neighboring countries. By emphasizing the question of the position of the minorities in neighboring countries, we have never aimed at the territory of our neighbors or at interfering in the internal affairs of these countries. Our interest was never interference in the internal affairs of any of our neighbors. This is, in brief, the pol[illegible] which we have built together with Comrade Tito. We especially determined this pol[illegible] at the known session of the two presidencies in Karadjordjevo. This policy, Mi[illegible] emphasized, was most thoroughly formulated by Comrade Tito in his speech in Skopje and later in Pristina. This policy enabled us to find with all our neighbors, except Bulgaria and Albania, a common language also about our minorities in neighboring countries and, vice versa, about their minorities in Yugoslavia.

Every right which Yugoslavia claims for itself in accordance with the UN Charter and other international documents on relations toward minorities as regards our minorities in other neighboring countries, it also recognizes with regard to our neighbors. We are a country which is open to the world and we are not afraid of it. On the other hand, a country which is closed to the world fears being open. Everything that we consider impermissible for ourselves, we also consider impermissible for our neighbors in their relations with Yugoslavia. This applies primarily to interference in internal affairs and to activities directed against the brotherhood and unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty and internal stability of our country. These are the principles without respect for which it is impossible to build and develop good-neighborly relations.

In conclusion, Milos Minic said:

"The events in Kosovo have revealed that in its relations with Yugoslavia the leadership of Albania has not observed these principles for many years, that it has crudely violated them and that it has through its exponents and agents encouraged and also publicly sided with the Albanian irredentist groups in their criminal action directed toward the destabilization and destruction of Yugoslavia and separation of a part of Yugoslav territory. This is a very serious attack on Albanian-Yugoslav relations, a heavy blow to the development of good-neighborly relations between our two countries. Such relations are needed by both countries which are in every respect oriented toward each other. This is the truth and we must look this truth in the eye. Because of this interference by Albanians, our relations with Albania have been dealt a serious blow. Only nationalist blindness could have set the Albanian leadership on this thoughtless and very dangerous road. These people also bear full responsibility for all the consequences of their greater-Albanian nationalist and irredentist policy toward Yugoslavia."

I must say that it is positive and encouraging that the vast majority of the Albanian people of Kosovo did not support the enemy's actions, Bogoljub Nedeljkovic said. It is also positive that our whole community acted unanimously and approved all the measures taken by the leadership in Kosovo and the organs in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the federal organs. This counterrevolution, Nedeljkovic added, is a major attack, above all, on the brotherhood and unity, on the equality of the nations and nationalities of our socialist country, on its integrity and sovereignty.

Nedeljkovic then spoke about the development of the province and said that Kosovo had mainly been developed with funds from outside. Its accumulation is minimal and amounts to a little more than 8 percent, he said and noted that the funds for the development of insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo covered more than 50 percent of the work.

I do not believe that the League of Communists neglected this, but it failed to surmount all the difficulties. These so-called subjective shortcomings, which ranged from insufficient utilization of the existing capacities and low productivity of work to poor cadre structure and so forth, had been in evidence and had been openly discussed, but they were being overcome very slowly.

Nedeljkovic then stressed that this dynamic development had not been accompanied by adequate socioeconomic relations, because the development of self-management was lagging behind. In his view the causes of and justification for the manifestations of nationalism and irredentism cannot be sought in economic development.

The causes should be sought, Nedeljkovic stressed, primarily in the phenomena of opportunism, liberalism, bureaucratism, technocratism, etatism, clannishness, the policy of being on good terms with everybody, elitism and other alien ideopolitical concepts and types of behavior by individuals and groups that are to be found in the ranks of the League of Communists.

After appraising the hostile role played in these events by neighboring Albania, Nedeljkovic said:

The newly-created situation in Kosovo is still fluid and obliges the League of Communists and all other forces to be still more active and vigilant. We must make even greater efforts to achieve greater results in Kosovo's socioeconomic development both in the current period and in the next. Kosovo needs the greatest help in overcoming its difficulties, not only in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism, but also in overcoming difficulties in the realization of the plan for the period 1981-85.

Nedeljkovic went on to speak about the disturbed intranational relations in Kosovo, saying that there is a trend among the Serbian and Montenegrin population to leave the province. I do not maintain that there was no pressure during the past period and that some people were not driven to move out under pressure, but I do not believe that it is a good thing to express views which have not been sufficiently checked, because not all the causes of this migration in Kosovo have yet been understood. We must establish the real state of affairs and know what the real reasons are. We said in the provincial committee that the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo could also imply a lack of confidence in our system by these citizens, but our system must guarantee security, order and peaceful life to these people. Aiming to cause dissent among our peoples, the hostile forces direct their effort in particular against the Serbian people. They do all they can to inflict the greatest possible damage on intranational relations. However, in this period there have not been many cases of attack on Serbs and Montenegrins, but there has been an exacerbation of these relations, in other words, harassment, Bogoljub Nedeljkovic said.

Jose Smole said that in his introductory report Lazar Mojsov paid particular attention to the activity of the hostile forces from abroad. These warnings are very significant if we bear in mind the fact that in certain environments in our country the negative influence of international trends has been underestimated, that it had been believed that nothing untoward can happen to us and that in certain environments even the strategic aims of the powers interested in destroying Yugoslavia and trying to do so have also been underestimated.

Speaking about the influence from outside, Joze Smole warned that we should not view this matter as if Yugoslavia were a mere object of foreign powers' pressures and politics or a mere object of intelligence services and their agents and that anything can be done from abroad, in other words, that the process of destabilizing Yugoslavia and so forth begins the moment one of these foreign agents presses a button.

This would be an impossible picture, because Yugoslavia is also a subject of international relations and, consequently, we decide what will happen in Yugoslavia and which foreign influence will have an effect or not.

We must proceed, he stated, from a realistic appraisal of the state of Yugoslavia's international standing, especially in our public statements. Smole does not believe that it is a good thing if we go from one extreme when one day we say that the whole world supports us actively and is concerned for Yugoslavia's unity and integrity to the other extreme when on another day we give the impression that neither more nor less than half the world is against Yugoslavia.

My third warning, Smole said, is that we must guard ourselves against overexaggerating what we call the external danger, because the basic thing, after all, is how we resolve problems, how we approach problems and what the internal strength of Yugoslavia is.

It is quite unclear how such agents could have been active in our country without our knowing anything about them, in other words, without us doing anything about it.

Is this a matter of incompetence and lack of vigilance or are there foreign agents in our ranks who consciously concealed the activity of such a centre, Smole asked. The question which also logically arises is that which concerns the report to the effect that on the occasion of the arrival of various delegations from Albania it was agreed to remove Comrade Tito's pictures. Can we be satisfied with just taking note of this? I believe he stressed, that this matter should be cleared up and it should be established who prevented the Yugoslav federal leadership and the Yugoslav public from knowing about these things at the time they happened, because the question is who is behind the concealment of such a fact from even the most responsible federal organs, from the League of Communists, from the Yugoslav public.

It is obvious, he continued, that we knew about certain things but that we took no action. In a conversation with the leaders of Kosovo in 1977 Comrade Kardelj raised a whole series of very important questions, gave them his suggestions and explained his attitudes. To judge from everything, the leadership of Kosovo ignored Comrade Kardelj's advice. However, the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium knew about this conversation between Comrade Kardelj and the leadership of Kosovo and for obviously opportunist reasons did nothing. The LCY Central Committee Presidium acted in the same manner. The prevalent view was that matters should not be driven to the extreme, and so we allowed things to run their course, with the present very grave negative consequences.

Smole went on to say that it was wrong not to inform the Yugoslav public in good time about the events in Kosovo. For this reason he suggested that the conclusions of today's session should compromise the attitude that the LCY Central Committee categorically insists on strict respect for the principle of providing immediate, current and objective information about all events and problems.

This is essential if we are serious when we are talking about our trust in the working man. It is essential if we are serious when we are talking about self-protection and all-people's defense. This is the prerequisite for starting an ideological struggle over the fundamental problems of our society in the League of Communists and in public information media.

There are constant conflicts in the relations between the editorial offices and certain organs that display a tutorial concern for what Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav public may and may not know.

Particular attention should be paid today to the prevention of all the new forms of the enemy's activity which hinder the process of stabilizing the situation, Djuro Trbovic said, noting that various pressures are still in evidence. There are increasingly frequent physical threats, intimidation, psychological pressures, spreading of disinformation and--a particularly dangerous aspect--attempts to show that life together has no prospect. In this connection he emphasized that growing attention must be paid to the rural areas, where the enemy is quite active. Pressure is being applied to the Albanian population, Trbovic went on, with the aim of obtaining the largest possible number of supporters. Pressures on the Serbian and Albanian population were also assuming increasing proportions.

After noting that intranational relations have been seriously disturbed and that safety, security and mutual trust have been jeopardized, he said that enemy actions will objectively have an effect on the emigration of Serbian and Montenegrin families from Kosovo. The League of Communists will not allow this, Trbovic emphasized. Speaking about the suppression of hostile actions, Trbovic said that without sufficiently clear criteria the League of Communists will not be successful enough in specific action. We must be far clearer, more vigilant and sharper today, we must react also to those phenomena to which we would perhaps not react in a different situation. This does not mean that we should now describe everything as nationalism and that we should perhaps look in that way for some kind of equilibrium between the different forms of nationalism, which has been known to happen, Trbovic said, adding that we must go further than merely differentiating between those who condemn and those who do not condemn the enemy.

Following the well known events of 1968, we did not carry through to the end our action on ideopolitical differentiation. Even in cadre policy we later made mistakes, so that some of the main participants in the 1968 demonstrations found themselves in leading posts in various institutions and even in state and political structures, Djuro Trbovic stressed.

The League of Communists and its leadership in Kosovo today need unity more than ever before. However, unity at any price is no use in specific action. The League of Communists can suffer grave damage, especially in these circumstances, if it has the wrong idea of unity or tries to forge it under the pressure of circumstances and on political foundations which are not clearly defined.

Speaking about accountability, Trbovic said that it must be demanded for the situation since the beginning of the hostile actions and that we must clearly distinguish between the responsibility of the League of Communists and the responsibility of individuals and leaderships in it. This is in order to avoid the situation where we reach the conclusion that we are all responsible but no one is at the same time called to account.

Trbovic went on to say that the League of Communists needs no scapegoats, that it is always ready, when settling accounts with any foreign ideology and counterrevolution, to throw out of its ranks any indecisive and wavering elements, any elements that hinder its resolute action. This is not a question of resignations alone, though they should be the starting point. In situations of this kind we have had and we should have deeper expulsions and a more energetic settling of accounts with all those whom we cannot continue to have among us any more in the action for the realization of the LCY policy.

For a long time now organizations and organs of the League of Communists in Kosovo have prepared good materials and adopted good conclusions on intranational relations, consolidation and deepening of brotherhood and unity and mutual trust among all the nations and nationalities in the province and the promotion of trust with the nations and nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in Yugoslavia. It goes without saying that there have also been cases of lack of viglance resulting in unsatisfactory conclusions being adopted, but this was uncharacteristic. However, specific political action was lacking in their realization and that created the scope in certain environments for the activity of the exponents of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Many good conclusions were never implemented.

In other words, we said something in our pronouncements, appraisals and conclusions, but in practice we often behaved in an irresponsible manner and often even in the opposite manner. We must be careful and make sure that this does not happen again. The League of Communists of Kosovo must more than ever before set out now to create and ensure a democratic and tolerant atmosphere suitable for raising, discussing and settling questions of intranational relations, from which it must exclude any outvoting by a majority. In the settling of questions of intranational relations everybody, regardless of numerical strength, must have equal rights and responsibilities for the promotion of brotherhood and unity and the development of togetherness.

We must create the conditions in which everybody who raises a question in the sphere of intranational relations on the basis of our attitudes will be sure not to labeled as a nationalist.

The spreading of Albanian nationalism has been so aggressive in a number of environments that it suppressed all free discussion on the genuine problems of intranational relations. Owing to this certain questions have either been ignored or when they were raised the discussion on them ended without result. It took the emergence of an excess situation to be able to speak more openly about problems.

There have for a long time been phenomena in individual environments--and even on a larger scale--that the justified raising of problems and negative phenomena in Kosovo in the sphere of intranational relations was interpreted as nationalism by the Serbs, Montenegrins and others and was met with resistance by the exponents of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, who were in this way opening up the scope for their own activity. Regrettably they were successful in this in certain environments, because the League of Communists there was not up to its tasks and responsibilities, hence the fact that some environments have now emerged as major hotbeds of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

Even today there are still examples of Albanian nationalists describing as nationalists those Serbs and Montenegrins who say that the situation in Kosovo is very difficult, that they are under great pressure and so forth, though this is how the situation was assessed at all levels, or call them nationalists because they have raised the question of the exodus of Serbs, Montenegrins and other non-Albanian populations from Kosovo. It is well known that Albanian nationalists have for a long time now, and especially recently, applied various forms of pressure, ranging from various excesses to the desecration of graves, monuments and busts of people's heroes and even to cases of physical violence.

Serious shortcomings have manifested themselves in the development policy of the information media, especially with regard to questions concerning the reception of Pristina radio and television, Belgrade radio and television and other Yugoslav stations. The Albanian radio is listened to throughout the territory of Kosovo and even on a wider scale without any trouble and television is seen in about 60 percent of Kosovo's territory.

I believe that one of our most important tasks now is to adopt urgent measures, regardless of the cost, to enable the working people and citizens of Kosovo as speedily as possible to receive Pristina and Belgrade radio and television programs and those of other Yugoslav stations without any trouble, Trbovic said.

For instance it is incomprehensible, Trbovic continued, that the wrong policy on the national structure of the staff which teaches the Serbo-Croatian language should have been pursued at the university in Pristina without any reaction at the university. This policy of pushing out the teaching staff of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, though they live in Kosovo, led to absurd situations, such as the one now in which about 170 professors and lecturers of Albanian nationality hold lectureships in Serbo-Croatian, while there are faculties without one single assistant lecturer of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality.

Speaking about other forms of nationalism, Trbovic said that there were views that no real possibilities existed in Kosovo for the revival of the Serbian and Montenegrin and other forms of nationalism on a large scale. However, such appraisals are unfounded. It is well known that one form of nationalism acts on another and that they boost each other. Objectively, we must also expect the revival of other forms of nationalism and of anti-Albanian sentiments.

The inadequate and insufficient measures concerning the exponents of the nationalist and chauvinist views and behavior in the ranks of the Serbian, Macedonian and other peoples have already in the past created and fanned hatred for and mistrust in the Albanian people, Trbovic said.

The League of Communists of Serbia and the League of Communists of Kosovo must make a greater effort to ensure, in the process of the further implementation of the Constitution, that unity and togetherness are promoted in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and that the autonomous nature of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is promoted, safeguarded and further enriched in its capacity of a constituting element of Yugoslav federalism and a constituent part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

The League of Communists must keep all these activities within the framework of the Constitution and in keeping with the constitutional solution. The League of Communists must resolutely oppose the views that unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia can be achieved only by means of constitutional changes and by returning to relations of the old type. At the same time it must struggle against the thesis that raising the unresolved questions of relations between the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo also means a change in the Constitution or, in other words, in the position and character of the provinces in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY, Djuro Trbovic said.

Risto Dzunov spoke about so-called economic nationalism or, in other words, the economic basis of nationalist phenomena. I want to state at the outset, he said, that no one is immune to this in our community.

The example of Kosovo once more confirms Comrade Tito's idea that the main danger does not lie in the problems which emerge--there will always be problems--but in whether or not the League of Communists and other political subjects are capable of identifying them in good time and finding the appropriate ways of overcoming them, Koca Joncio said.

After 13 hours of work the members of the Central Committee adopted the conclusions which the commission will expand on the basis of suggestions made by the LCY Central Committee members on the presented draft of the conclusions. After that the LCY Central Committee Presidium will adopt the final text of the conclusions at its next session at which the hostile and counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo will again be considered.

At the end of the session, Chairman Lazar Mojsov told the members of the Central Committee that the veterans of the First Kosovo Brigade have sent a letter to the LCY Central Committee in which they inform the highest forum of Yugoslav communists that it may count on them. The letter also contains the veterans' pledge to defend the gains of the revolution resolutely and uncompromisingly and their approval of all the measures being taken to suppress the hostile activity. A message with the same content was also sent by the veterans of the First Kosovo Brigade to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

'PROVOCATIVE' INCIDENTS CONTINUE IN KOSOVO

AU101505 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 81 p 15

[Zejnel Zejneli report]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 4 May--At its first session to be held today, the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo will appraise the causes, circumstances and consequences of the recent hostile and counterrevolutionary demonstrations by the Albanian nationalists and irredentists.

Simultaneous Demonstrations in Several Towns

Today, nearly 35 days after the hostile demonstrations, the situation is more peaceful but very difficult. In recent days and particularly on 1 May the enemy tried to further maintain, as far as possible, a state of tension by seemingly petty provocations.

In the last 10 days groups of young people, behaving provocatively, nationalistically, and wearing white caps and the traditional Albanian national costumes, signs of recognition which they had not worn until now, have been simultaneously appearing in several towns. The leader of some 50 youths, who were appearing along the promenade street in Prizren, has been identified as the son of emigrants from Albania. The youths are appearing wearing vests emblazoned with a double-headed eagle or wearing pins with a double-headed eagle.

It was precisely these youths who, toward the end of April and at the beginning of May, provoked incidents in Urosevac, Suva Reka, Lipljani, Orahovac, Istok, Pec.... Energetic action by the security organs prevented an escalation and thus there were no incidents yesterday or last night. To create confusion in identifying them, the participants of "peaceful demonstrations" travel to other towns, for instance from Prizren to Pec, from Pec to Prizren and so forth, alternatively.

Despite the aggressive efforts to provoke unrest, the Kosovo working people and citizens have not let the rhythm of their work and the customary liveliness during May Day celebrations be disturbed.

However, despite efforts to overcome the present situation, results cannot be achieved immediately. The task is not at all easy or simple, nor will everything be solved within a few days. The roots are deeper and they must be cut first....

FIRE OF UNKNOWN CAUSES DESTROYS PRISTINA FACTORY

AU081613 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] The Kosovo Provincial Secretariat for Information has issued an announcement on the fire in the Kosovka textile factory in Pristina. According to the estimates of experts, the damage amounted to about 200 million dinars. Some 757 tons of cotton have been saved, but 330 tons partly burned. The causes of the fire are still unknown. The teams of experts of the competent organs are continuing their investigation.

More on Fire

AU091638 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1737 GMT on 8 May carries text of the following announcement of the Kosovo Provincial Secretariat for Information on the fire in the Pristina Kosovka textile factory: "The fire which broke out in a section of the warehouse of the Kosovka textile factory in Pristina on 6 May was localized and caused a minimum damage as compared to the extent of possible damage, thanks to the selfless intervention by workers of that oldest working collective of Pristina, members of the communal territorial defense and fire fighting units, representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army and the neighboring work organizations, Bahtir Miftari, director of the Pristina Kosovka textile factory, said today. According to the estimates of experts, the damage amounts to about 200 million dinars. Some 757 tons of cotton have been saved but 330 tons partly burned. The cause of the fire is still unknown. The teams of experts of the competent organs are continuing their investigation."

Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1640 GMT on 8 May carries a correction (note that correction preceeded item) to the above item by the Kosovo Provincial Secretariat for Information saying that "a mistake was made" and that the damage caused by the fire in the Pristina Kosovka textile factory amounted to 20 million dinars rather than 200 million.

PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE BANS ISSUE OF PRISTINA JOURNAL

LD081554 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 8 May (TANJUG)--The following announcement was received today from the district prosecutor's office in Pristina: "By Decision No 75-9/81 of the Pristina Public Prosecutor's Office, a temporary ban was placed a few days ago on the distribution of the 1 April 1981 issue of the journal FJALTA printed at the 'Rilindja' printing works in Pristina."

The announcement made by the prosecutor's office does not explain the reasons for this temporary ban. However, the journal FJALJA was criticized a few days ago at the session of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee, when articles published in the journal PERPARIMI were also critically mentioned because of a series on Albanians in the world, as were some articles in the Serbo-Croatian language journal OBELEZJA, it being stressed that articles in these journals do not always proceed from a critical Marxist analysis.

As for the journal FJALJA [word indistinct] is concerned, it is obvious that the reason is a story entitled "Under the Guests' Mask," in which this fortnightly journal for culture, the arts and literature (published by 'Rilindja') produced a series of details which could represent an allusion to the current events in Kosovo. The article, that is, speaks of "our majority" which went among the people and "raised the masses to demonstrate," while criticizing "our people who bowed before the guests" because these "guests" want to "give commands." Those who had any weapons "went uphill" and "greeted" the guests with bullets. It was added that the "guests" "even dared (?attack) children" because the "wolf may change his coat but not his nature." This "story" occupied a whole page in the journal, which otherwise has not been available for quite a long time now, having been printed on 1 April.

KOSOVO TO EXAMINE IDEOLOGY OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

LD081644 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Pristina, 8 May (TANJUG)--The Education Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo today held a meeting at which it adopted changes and addenda to the program of its work for this year.

The council, it was said, will especially strive for the ideopolitical and Marxist evaluation of the reform of education and textbooks used in schools in Kosovo. It was decided to reexamine the ideological value of each textbook separately, at all levels of education and upbringing.

The provincial education council accepted the demand for the recall of Imer Elusani, delegate from Glogovac, director of the Center for Specialized Education in this municipality and member of the provincial education council, because--it was said--of his unbecoming behavior during recent hostile demonstrations.

MILENKOVIC COMMENTARY VIEWS LC SESSIONS ON KOSOVO

AU082132 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 May 81

[Milutin Milenkovic commentary]

[Text] Three public sessions on 3 consecutive days, precisely when a year had passed since the most difficult moments of Tito's death and last sendoff, have restored the confidence in the force of the collective awareness and collective mind of the LCY and all forces led by it. Milutin Milenkovic comments:

Being very clear in their messages, which represents recognized and balanced experience and will become instructions for the further and, in many ways, different activity of the leading forces of this society, the sessions of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and the LCY Central Committee are also significant for some other characteristics. These characteristics are primarily connected with political activity methods in general, particularly at critical stages, the attitude of the leaderships toward the public and, vice versa, the attitude of public opinion toward such an essential confrontation with the social problems of general interest.

At all stages of tense social or international contradictions Tito always found the right balance between the magnitude of the problems involved and the political means required to solve them. Without hiding any difficulties, he sustained and strengthened the optimistic self-confidence of progressive aspirations and their promoters in his own community, in the entire country and party, as well as on the world scene. Without dramatizing anything, Tito taught us not to hide difficulties and dilemmas either from ourselves or from fellow combatants, the working people and patriots especially if these difficulties and dilemmas are such that they cannot be overcome without the broadest conscious efforts. Tito never consented to closing his eyes to problems or to underrating or concealing them.

Two of the most frequent forms of deviation from this Titoist practice of the League of Communists in daily political life can be described as phraseology about and embellishment of reality. Phraseology--as a mark of helplessness of knowledge or will to accept confrontation with unpleasant truths--and embellishment--as a mark of the helplessness of conscience in the face of the obligation to announce the truth that has been recognized--also manifest themselves in another two deviations: phraseology has been inclined to transform itself into nonaction, simple and diagnostic escape and criticism; embellishment has usually been a flight from criticism. Both have reflected a fear of reality, a fear that turned into a fear of the public. They have never reflected strength and responsibility, but, on the contrary, an inclination to careerism and a shortsightedness.

The three sessions on 3 consecutive days precisely when a year had passed since the most difficult moments of Tito's death and last sendoff have strongly confirmed the Titoist way of political conduct. The three sessions have provided such an abundance of political analyses, views and demands that within a limited time it is perhaps difficult to present everything to the entire domestic and world public in a condensed and appropriate form.

In view of the fact that the conclusions and the action programs, which must result from these open communist debates, will still be discussed among the broadest ranks of Yugoslav self-managers, this excessively rich political material, both as a whole and especially in all of its extraordinary valid details, cannot but evoke a mobilization response. All this is restoring self-confidence in the force of the collective awareness and collective mind of the LCY at the head of all aware socialist self-managing forces of the country.

In these recent days the truth has been faced with a maximum openness and determination. The great difficulties that confront us have been recognized seriously but without fear. The near and remote and the direct and deep origins of nationalism under our conditions, nationalism as a disguised form of an indirect anti-Yugoslav aggression against the country's social system and community, have been sought and discovered analytically and studiously but without any delays or petty efforts to outwit anyone.

The forum-like style of work has been demolished by real discussions among the free and equal members of responsible forums. Criticisms and self-criticisms have been made without any restraint and directed at individual and collective bodies. The responsibility resulted from the logical consequences of the recognized facts and not as an attack on any individual personality and even less as a settling of accounts between groups or trends. Uniform views have been neither sought nor staged. But in the session halls there were many communists in uniform who, together with others, confirmed, by their conduct in all these events and by their statements at these sessions, how strong that all-people's rampart of defense of the state borders and the social system is.

All members of the League of Communists, the entire workers class and all peoples and nationalities of the country directly heard and saw that at the contemporary level of the self-managing socialist development, which is not taking place without contradictions, crises and clashes, the League of Communists has the strength to reject limitations in selecting topics and ways of discussing them, limitations that prevented in advance discussions about some essential issues and (?created a climate) of secrecy between our self-managing public opinion and the political decisionmaking process.

We believe that, after the bad experience with the discussions, that is, nondiscussions about and concealment of the problems that appeared in the development of Kosovo and the entire community and after the damages caused to us by the senseless and short-sighted attempts to conceal the unpleasant truths, these 3 days of important sessions have marked the end of the method of division between the forums and the masses of the people, the method that has been used at times in the past. Further social activity must confirm that this is a great Titoist step in the direction of suppressing the closed forum activity of some organs of the League of Communists. This is a prerequisite for an increasingly broader democratization and mobilization of all sectors of our sociopolitical front and an uncompromising defense of all achievements of the revolution and every foot of our common homeland.

KOSOVO LC DISCUSSES POLITICAL, SECURITY SITUATION

LD101636 Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1454 GMT 10 May 81

[Text] Pristina, 10 May (TANJUG)--The Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium, under the chairmanship of Veli Deva, today discussed topical issues relating to the political and security situation in the province.

As reported, the session emphasized that intensive activity by the league and other organized socialist forces is taking place in the province on implementing the tasks arising from the recent sessions of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee, the Serbia League of Communists Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee.

On the basis of the standpoints from these forums, the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee will adopt at its next session an action program for the Kosovo League of Communists.

THREE 'PRO-USTASHISTS' FACE CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS

LD081524 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] The Zagreb District Court has initiated criminal proceedings against Marko Veselica, Vlado Gotovac and Dobroslav Paraga for criminal acts against the foundations of the socialist self-managing social system and security of Yugoslavia, participation in hostile activity and propaganda and incitement of national, racial and religious hatred, dissent and intolerance.

The public prosecutor charged Dr Marko Veselica with contacts with representatives of emigre Ustasha terrorist organizations and with interviews last year with foreign information media in which he maliciously presented the situation in Yugoslavia and spoke about an alleged inequality of the Croat people in our country.

Vlado Gotovac gave interviews in which he wanted to create belief in the so-called subordination of the Croat people and in an alleged hindering of citizens in their constitutional rights. These interviews were also published in the Ustasha and pro-Ustasha emigre press.

Dobroslav Paraga was in contact with representatives of the Ustasha terrorist organizations and brought into the country a large quantity of hostile material for distribution. Toward the end of last year, he tried to get some cultural and social workers to sign a petition on a law on amnesty for people who had committed criminal acts against the foundations of the socialist self-managing social system and security of Yugoslavia.

The proceedings in the Zagreb District Court will be held separately. Accused Paraga and Veselica are in detention, while the accused Gotovac will remain free during the proceedings.

More on Trials

AU081631 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] As we have learned, criminal proceedings are now in progress in the Zagreb District Court against Dr Marko Veselica, Vlado Totovac and Dobroslav Paraga because of their crimes against the foundations of the socialist self-managing system and the security of the SFRY, participation in hostile activities under Article No 131, hostile propaganda under article No 133, and inciting national, race and religious hatred, strife and intolerance under Article No 134 of Yugoslavia's Criminal Code.

The public prosecutor is charging the first accused, Veselica, who was sentenced to a 7-year hard labor term for counterrevolutionary activities in 1972, and the second accused, Gotovac, who was sentenced to a 4-year prison term for the same crimes the same year, with several crimes of the same character and substance committed during the past and in the beginning of the current year. Dobroslav Paraga, who is 21 and whose trial will open on 13 May, is charged with contacts with Stjepan Bilandzic, an Ustasha terrorist, and with representatives of the Ustasha terrorist organization abroad for the purpose of hostile activities against our country as well as with deceptions during the collection of signatures from individual cultural and social workers for a petition for the amnesty of the persons who had committed such crimes as terrorism, espionage and other things. The trial of the second accused, Gotovac, who is the only one of the three defending himself as a free man, will open on 2 June. The trial of Veselica will be scheduled after the indictment becomes valid.

PRESIDENCY MEETS DISCUSSES TOPICAL ISSUES

LD082330 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1626 GMT 8 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 8 May (TANJUG)--The Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia today held a meeting in Belgrade under the chairmanship of Cvijetin Mijatovic. The Presidency considered topical questions of relations between our country and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The meeting also considered and adopted the information about the forthcoming friendly visit by Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the People's Republic of Congo to Yugoslavia.

The Presidency considered criteria and procedure for the choice and appointment of ambassadors and heads of SFRY missions in international organizations and adopted corresponding conclusions. The Presidency also considered topical questions of development of the SFRY Armed Forces and some questions in the field of leading and commanding armed forces. The meeting also considred other questions within the competence of the SFRY Presidency.

The meeting was attended by the highest officials of the federation and presidents of the presidencies of the republics and autonomous provinces.

DOLANC, DJURANOVIC SPEAK AT SELF-MANAGING MEETING

LD091104 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 8 May 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 May (TANJUG)--The draft resolution of the Third Congress of Self-Managers of Yugoslavia will be submitted for public discussion in a week's time--that is, around 15 May. This was agreed on today by members of the committee for the preparation of the congress, who held their third meeting on the contents of this document.

In the opinion of Stane Dolanc, the congress resolution should contain an appeal by the working class of Yugoslavia to solve the problems connected with the situation in Kosovo.

It is necessary, he said, to emphasize the relationship between the class character and the national character and the attitude of the technocratic structures which, regardless of the nationality, contributed by their behavior and position in society to such dimensions of the nationalist and irredentist movement. As it is the most important event this year, the congress should direct itself to this. Apart from this, Dolanc said, the congress resolution also should more concretely elaborate on the part on economic stabilization and tasks facing us in view of the economic trends this year and the implementation of the plan.

According to Veselin Djuranovic, the congress of self-managers should deal with the past 10-years period. During this period, he said, we adopted a new Constitution, the law on associated labor, 120 so-called laws pertaining to the system and over 1,300 legal acts. A stronger material basis has been created for the strengthening of the economic equality of the republics and provinces, social standards and the standard of living have been increased and spheres of self-managing decisionmaking expanded. The congress should reflect the present situation of our associated labor, what is happening today within the basic organizations of associated labor and everything that expresses the multitude of self-managing interests and what is common to them, as well as open further processes for associating work and resources.

In conclusion, Djuranovic said that we should clearly examine the convictions which in the struggle against regional isolation do not want to see the role of the republics and provinces in the constitutional system. He considers that "national" and "self-managing" interests should be closely connected.

MARKOVIC SPEAKS AT KRSMANOVIC MEMORIAL UNVEILING

LD100732 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0705 GMT 9 May 81

[Excerpts] Paracin, 9 May (TANJUG)--Speaking at the unveiling of a memorial bust honoring Branko Krsmanovic, Dragoslav Markovic, president of the SFRY Assembly, stressed that the success which we are achieving and the difficulties, delays and even resistance which we experience convincingly prove that the struggle for socialist self-management, fresh achievements and new material and self-management socialist gains can only be attained if a great effort is made by the workers' class and all the working people, all the creative forces of society.

Markovic went on to stress that from the founding of the Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia, which laid the basis for revolutinary rule and socialist order in new Yugoslavia, until today the attitude to Yugoslavia as a socialist self-managing community in which socialist self-management and national equality of all nations and nationalities are consolidating themselves has been and remains one of the basic criteria in the struggle for the goals of the socialist revolution. Socialist, self-managing, independent and nonaligned Yugoslavia is the result of this struggle. In it, the working man increasingly controls the results of his work and is the master of his fate. Our federal socialist self-managing community defends and will go on defending these gains and orientation all the time and with all its energy.

It is no coincidence that we encounter most resistance along these lines of social development. Reactionary and conservative forces are threatening all the basic historical orientations and achievements of the working class and our peoples. These numerically weak forces can cause difficulties in social development if the leading vanguard force and its ideo-political and class vigilance slacken and if opportunism is allowed to prevail in the behavior of communists and other socialist forces. Usurpation of self-management rights in the name of self-management, manipulation of people in the name of principled cadre policy, irresponsible use of social resources [passage indistinct]

The events in Kosovo were the most drastic attack on the results and achievements realized and attained by the working class and working people of Kosovo with the material support and solidarity of the entire Yugoslav community. To communists, to the conscious socialist forces it is clear how this could happen though the causes are numerous and circumstances complex.

Insufficient determination and constancy, especially in the League of Communists but also in other organized forces, made the leading forces unable always to differentiate to a sufficient degree between the nationalist and the communist and self-managing socialist positions when analysing and settling numerous important social questions, ranging from the questions of accelerated economic development and the realization of the constitutionally established relations in the republic and development policies in education, science, culture and so forth to uncritical views and the realization of the position of Kosovo in a number of aspects of international political, scientific, technical and cultural-educational cooperation.

These and other questions will have to be discussed in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and also on a wider scale, and it will be necessary to draw the kind of conclusions which will give an impetus to efforts aimed at the optimum and genuine settling of the problems encountered in the province in its development.

It goes without saying that the process of overcoming complex difficulties in the province and achieving consolidation in the League of Communists and other socialist subjective forces through the identification of problems, establishment of responsibility and the solution to problems and for better organized work will not be an easy, simple or short-term task.

However, what has already been achieved shows that in our community, in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo there are forces which will carry out this task successfully and consolidate the self-managing socialist character of our social relations.

KURTOVIC SPEAKS AT VICTORY OVER FASCISM DAY RALLY

LD101604 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0812 GMT 10 May 81

[Speech by Todo Kurtovic, President of the SAWPY Federal Conference, at 10 May mass rally in Jablanica, marking 38th anniversary of battle for the wounded and the day of victory over fascism]

[Excerpts] Jablanica, 10 May (TANJUG)--Having greeted those present at the mass rally in Jablanica, Todo Kurtovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, said that our community had invested vast resources into the development of Jablanica municipality and the surrounding area, which had contributed to speedier development of this region and our country as a whole.

We will continue to develop fast, Kurtovic went on to say: No one doubts that any more. Our results prove that. We in Yugoslavia have something to show. We have something to develop and safeguard in the sphere of economic and social development.

Todo Kurtovic devoted a part of his speech at the mass rally in Jablanica exposing the enemy, who is particularly bothered by our fast and successful development.

We know that destructive forces in our country, Kurtovic stressed, now want to wage a joint destructive action. It is now characteristic of all of them that they make out that our system is in crisis. And it is precisely our further development and our reliance on man, on all of us, on all working people, that presents a barrier against hostilities of all kinds. Even if the unification of destructive forces is achieved--which we doubt--they will remain what they are: small, destructive groups or individuals who exploit lack of vigilance or work secretly and rely, to a greater or lesser extent, on this or that power in the world, which means that they are traitors, as those similar to them have always been throughout history. However, we say: When it comes to common social, self-management and socialist relations and the independence of our country, there is no other way. There is no doubt about that; neither will there be one.

Naturally, our country's enemies must not be overestimated, but our experience has taught us that neither can they be underestimated. Nationalism continues to exist and is apparent in certain spheres, particularly in the economy. We will continue to be resolute in smashing and destroying everything hostile to our overall, free self-management development. To struggle for this continues to be a first-rate patriotic and revolutionary task. Lack of freedom and exploitation has gone on far too long in our country for us not to guard carefully and develop further what we have realized. Too much blood has been spilled for us to underestimate that which opposes our brotherhood. We are ready to undertake all in order to be safe on our path. Let our enemies bear this in mind. Our strength, namely the strength of our nations and nationalities, is great. Our prestige is high and we have many friends in the world. Everybody knows us on account of our positive activity and on account of Tito!

We are vigilant also when it comes to interference from (?abroad); we know that it will not end soon. However, pressure from abroad makes us close our ranks. Let our enemies bear this in mind also! Present anti-Yugoslav and antirevolutionary activity of the clandestine organization in Kosovo is also the work of these forces.

Together with others, they have organized an attack on our country. They talk about freedoms, while in their own country they limit the freedom of movement from one municipality to another. They talk about democratization and class solidarity while they incite Albanians to kill workers from the ranks of Serbs, Montenegrins and Turks. They quote Marxism while in their own midst they will crush everything which thinks freely. Stalin is clearly close to them, while Marx would have anathematized them since what they are doing is a backwards step in civilization, and it certainly does not mean that Marxisim is applicable to what they do.

They advocate the occupation of foreign territories and at the same time they speak about interests of the people. In fact, people such as these fear the development of Yugoslavia and Kosovo. They even call possessing a washing machine a "bourgois habit." They believe that in socialism nothing should be done to make life more pleasant, which means that efforts should not be made to change conditions in this connection.

In socialism we want neither slave labor nor robots nor (?barracks discipline). All that and only that which makes slaves of men and exploits men is against socialism, and socialist conditions should make the life of the people more pleasant, richer and freer, with less physical labor and strenuous work. People such as these showed their true colors toward us as far back as 1948 and in fact they have never changed their attitude. Up to now we have ignored many things in the interest of good-neighborly relations, but now everything should be viewed more realistically. Naturally, we should constantly promote cooperation, but we should also determine what kind of cooperation is realistically possible and mutually beneficial under those conditions. We are interested not only in the mood of governments but also in what interests the people. It is an indisputable fact that it is in the interest of the Albanian people to cooperate with new Tito's Yugoslavia, as it is also in our interest to cooperate with the Albanian people.

Todo Kurtovic went on to stress that today Albanians, together with the other nations and nationalities in Kosovo and in the whole of Yugoslavia, are struggling against Albanian chauvinists and irredentists. Albanians have courageously withstood the frenzied attack by the chauvinists who, in addition to destroying and demolishing what has been achieved with hard work, want the blood of small children to be shed, not at all something over which ZERI I POPULLIT is now shedding tears.

Those present at the mass rally in Jablanica also welcomed that part of Todo Kurtovic's speech in which he stressed that behind-the-scenes actions and hypocritical attacks could only harm the fighting spirit and the spirit among fellow fighters. In our circumstances, bureaucratism continues to be our great enemy since it weakens our action, even offers some hope to nationalism and all other sworn enemies of the people. They find it easier now to sow seeds of doubt in the strength of the people, which can lead to people and environments isolating themselves, to the creation of groups, destruction of the democratic nature of the system and to more difficult implementation of self-management.

Such conduct can distance forums from real interests of each environment and isolate them from the people and members equally, develop belief in decrees only, underestimate people and socio-political organizations and create conditions for the existence of everything which is negative, unethical and amoral.

A greater degree of responsibility toward the federation is also needed, Kurtovic added. This also applies when it comes to the composition of its organs. Policy agreed upon in the federation should be treated with greater respect. It should be said that even at this time certain individuals behave irresponsibly toward the federation, showing a lack of responsibility when it comes to investments and some obligations. I would say that some of them remind one of those who came to an inglorious end when their attitude toward the federation and agreed-on policy was at stake.

MINIC REVIEWS TITO'S ROLE IN NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

LD101808 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 10 May 81

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 10 May (TANJUG)--Tito was undoubtedly the most prominent statesman of our time and I believe that this is today a generally held view throughout the world. This was said this evening by Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Minic spoke on the Zagreb TV program "Arguments" presented by foreign political editor Ante Lentic. In the same program were interviews with Ziaur Rahman, president of Bangladesh, and Sekou Toure, president of Guinea, who also very highly assessed the role of President Tito in modern history.

After pointing to the principles adhered to by Tito in the struggle for peace and a new international order, Minic laid particular stress on the fact that Tito devoted the entire 35-year period after the war to the struggle for peace. Minic said there was no other statesman in the world who had visited so many countries and had so many meetings, and during all those meetings he always worked for peace in the world.

Minic went on to stress that Tito linked the struggle for preserving the heritage of our revolution and the independence of our country with the struggle for respecting the independence and equality of all peoples and countries. According to Minic, in this way Tito gradually built a new platform for preserving peace in the world and for developing international cooperation. That was the platform of the policy of nonalignment, Minic went on. He stressed that "today there is no one in the nonaligned countries who will not stress that Tito was the chief architect of this movement, of its strategy, tactics, basic principles, aims and actions."

Answering a question on President Tito's role at meetings of the nonaligned, Minic said: "Comrade Tito took part in all six conferences of heads of state and government of nonaligned countries. I attended three of them together with him--in Algiers, Colombo and Havana. His role at the conferences was always one of the most influential, and in some moments when there were difficulties over adopting stands, his word, his advice and his attitude were crucial for achieving the necessary agreement, the necessary consensus. That is how it was from the first conference until the sixth conference in Havana.

"Perhaps this became evident most strongly at the sixth conference in Havana. That conference took place under special conditions, in a very complex international situation when certain differences and even clashes--including even armed clashes between certain nonaligned countries--occurred in the Nonaligned Movement itself, and when pressure from the great powers and blocs was exerted with a force not previously experienced by any conference of the nonaligned.

"Comrade Tito was very worried before the conference in Havana. At the ministerial conference in Belgrade in 1978 differences--certain divisions and certain contradictions among nonaligned countries--erupted very strongly. It became very clear that the blocs and some great powers [as received] had infiltrated the movement and were trying, through certain nonaligned countries, to divert the movement from its basic direction, from its basic political orientation and its international role, to change the character of the movement. This was done by both sides, both blocs.

"Comrade Tito was very worried about these divisions and he deeply believed not only in the strength, the living strength, of the Nonaligned Movement but also in the need for the entire international community to preserve the Nonaligned Movement. He believed it should play an even greater role because this is the only international force which fights for such a platform and for such goals which alone can ensure that the world situation moves toward the preservation of peace and consolidation of international cooperation. He believed deeply that without the Nonaligned Movement it would not be possible to find a solution to a single international crisis, either in southern Africa, or in the Middle East, or in Southeast Asia, or anywhere.

"Tito's health was already affected before the Havana conference. He had not felt well at all. At one time he even considered not going to Havana, partly to some extent due to his health but also because of his great concern. Once, in a conversation with me, when an unscrupulous action had been waged to align the Nonaligned Movement on the side of a bloc, he even said: I shall have to think more about going to Havana. I am the founder of this movement and I would not like to attend its funeral.

"However, because of the way preparations for the conference proceeded and the way in which the conference progressed, and as it was shown that the great majority of the nonalignment countries stood firmly on the course of the nonaligned policy and firmly advocated the original--as Tito said--principles of the policy of nonalignment, Comrade Tito came to the conclusion that his presence in Havana was needed. And, at the session of the SFRY Presidency and of the LCY Presidium held in Igalo in March 1979, he announced his firm decision to go to Havana. He said the prospects of the movement were good despite all the difficulties and divisions and that what should be achieved in Havana was consolidation of the movement's unity and an increase in its ability to act."

Asked how he assessed the loss suffered by Yugoslavia, by the nonaligned and the world with Tito's death, Minic replied:

"Comrade Tito's death was experienced in Yugoslavia, by the broadest strata of the people and by all nations and nationalities, as well as by the whole world, as a grave loss, as a grave blow, so to say, for all forces fighting for peace and progress, but in particular for us, for Yugoslavia. Some foreign statesmen expressed this very briefly but exceptionally strongly: The giant among the great men of our history has departed. And this is the real truth.

"Tito's departure left for us, in Yugoslavia, an immense vacuum. A year after his death it is obvious and normal that life goes on enexorably, and our community has adapted itself to living, making decisions and working without Tito but as if it is still together with Tito. But the truth is we would certainly resolve many of our problems more easily if we were with us. There were many problems too while he was alive. We experienced many difficulties and situations which were far graver and far more pregnant with dangers for Yugoslavia than the situation today, though the international situation today is very bad and our internal problems too are serious.

"The problems we have in the economy and in other spheres, in the political sphere, would most likely have emerged even if Tito were alive. The only thing is that we would resolve them more easily together with him, but I think that our people see clearly that we are resolving them successfully. I must say that what contributes to this very much is Tito's experience and the efforts by all of us to act in the way in which Tito would have acted in similar situations.

"I think a similar feeling exists in the Nonaligned Movement--about a vacuum having arisen, about the loss of Tito's prestige, Tito's reputation. Moreover, some prominent personalities both in the world and in the Nonaligned Movement say that Tito's absence is noticed. But the last conference in New Delhi demonstrated that the movement too is drawing its strength by relying on Tito's thoughts, on Tito's words. In particular, the jubilee session held at the New Delhi conference in connection with the 20th anniversary of the first conference in Belgrade demonstrated that Tito is present in the Nonaligned Movement in the same way in which he is also present in our country, with his thoughts and his work.

"Recently, in connection with the anniversary of his death, we have also heard many statesmen outside the Nonaligned Movement, and I think that they have been saying is entirely accurate--that one feels Tito's absence also in the great affairs of the international community.

He know how to launch initiatives, he knew to speak to great powers, superpowers and blocs, to appeal for and demand certain actions to resolve international crises and problems, to halt interference in internal affairs and to put an end to pressures and military interventions. This is both obvious and correct. These days one sees how strong this feeling is about there being no such authority which would help the entire international community and the United Nations.

Asked what was the international position of Yugoslavia and whether something had changed in this respect after Tito, Minic replied:

"The very fact that Tito is not among us today represents one minus for the strength, for the firmness of the international position of Yugoslavia. We are aware of this. We were also aware of this much earlier, while Tito was still alive and well. We were aware of the fact that Tito would die some day, that he would no longer be among us. It could be said that everybody thought about it, from top-ranking leaders down to workers in factories. And precisely because we are conscious of this we have tried, in this one year, to do everything to have Tito's absence felt as little as possible.

"I think we have achieved that, because Yugoslavia has become involved in bilateral relations with all the countries of the East and West, with nonaligned countries and with developing countries, in the same way in which it was involved at the time when together with Tito, we were implementing our nonaligned policy, our foreign policy.

"Both by the intensity of Yugoslavia's contacts and by initiatives and ties with other countries in the past year, one can conclude that our international position is today very firm, that we have succeeded in preserving this position in the way Tito believed when he became annoyed about any question relating to what would happen after Tito.

"Yugoslavia today has the same influential position in the Nonaligned Movement; it is just as active also in the sphere of European security and cooperation, in its relations with its neighbors and in all the spheres of international relations. I think, therefore, that the past year represents a strong confirmation that Yugoslavia's internal position has remained stable and firm after Tito's departure."

Asked about our immediate tasks in order to continue along the path charted by President Tito in the international sphere, Minic said:

"First and foremost, I would stress that it is our task to continue Yugoslavia's role in the Nonaligned Movement, the role which it had while Comrade Tito was at the head of our country. This was not a leaderist role. Yugoslavia has never aspired to or had a leaderist role. Leaderism is unacceptable in the Nonaligned Movement. Nonaligned countries are sovereign states, states on equal footing which have voluntarily gathered together in the struggle for peace, for their independence, for all the basic goals and principles of the Nonaligned Movement. But this has been the role of one of the most active, most committed and most influential of the nonaligned countries. We must preserve this role in the Nonaligned Movement. So far, I think, we have managed on the whole to preserve it.

"Secondly, it is exceptionally significant for us to develop and deepen good-neighborly relations. Every country which has not built good-neighborly relations or which has not succeeded in this, regardless of whether this depends on its own will or on the will of its individual neighbors, must continually think about having problems with its international position.

"We have succeeded in maintaining good-neighborly cooperation with the great majority of our neighbours, and even to deepen it in the year after Tito. Comrade Tito particularly insisted on this.

"Thirdly, it is our task to continue, as we did in the year following Comrade Tito's death, to nurture and further develop and consolidate friendship and cooperation with all other countries, with the great powers and with European countries, with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is my deep conviction that we shall succeed in this and that we shall eliminate the many weaknesses which exist in this respect, particularly in the development of our economic relations with West European countries and with developing countries."

Speaking about the tasks in the domestic field, Minic stressed that the basic task is to do everything possible to make Yugoslavia a strong and united socialist community. In order to have this basic goal implemented efficiently, Minic pointed out a number of spheres in which efforts must be intensified.

Minic placed first the consolidation of brotherhood, unity and equality of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, and energetic opposition to any attempts by nationalism and chauvinism.

Minic also pointed out the need to develop socialist self-management which has unfolded the prospects of building human socialism. He stressed in particular that the stagnation in self-management of the strengthening of bureaucratic and etatist elements at the expense of self-management must not be allowed.

Minic also stressed the significance of the struggle for political unity. Recalling the 11th congress, in Minic's words, in preparing for the 12th congress an assessment must be made of why we have not taken a greater step forward to affirm the SAWPY as the broadest front of socialist forces.

POLITIKA ON ZERI I POPULLIT COMMENTS ON KOSOVO

AU101600 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 81 p 3

[Predrag Vukovic commentary: "After the ZERI I POPULLIT Articles; Tirana's Dangerous Meddling"]

[Text] It was only a few days after the brutal culmination of the hostile demonstrations and attacks in Kosovo, demonstrations and attacks with counterrevolutionary aims, that ZERI I POPULLIT, organ of the AWP, hastened--as early as 8 April--to openly side with the fanatical chauvinists and militant irredentists, apparently fearing that someone naive or insufficiently informed in Yugoslavia or the world might otherwise have doubts about Tirana's "credit" also for everything that has happened. Two weeks later, on 23 April, the same newspaper once again raised its voice, this time making a few even worse steps in the bad and dangerous but long since chosen direction.

It is in vain that the intolerable substance and ill intentions are here and there covered by verbal sweeteners. The pleas for "a realistic and objective analysis" and for "calm", and the assurances that, "by writing this article, we have no intention to revive polemics or to add fuel to the fire" have the effect of transparent and cheap farce in comparison with the actual content and the entire text of that long article of about 5,000 words. If we add to this the fact that the preceding article is now presented as "natural, just and moderate" even though it is burdened by tendentious lies and Zogist [from King Zog of Albania] greater-Abanian illusions, and represents a flagrant example of interference in someone else's internal affairs, then it becomes clearer what kind of analysis we face.

Guardianship Aspirations

In fact, ZERI I POPULLIT once again fosters the hopes that the brotherhood and unity of our peoples will be undermined, and diligently strives toward that goal. In its latest article, it again mentions that "the Serbian army and police" prevented the actions of hostile elements in Kosovo but, to tell the truth, it does so to a lesser extent than in its earliesr article. Is this so because ZERI I POPULLIT is ashamed of its previous chauvinist way of writing or of inciting intranational hatred and its wishes for conflicts? Judging by what then follows, it is hardly possible that this is so.

The reason is of a different nature. The united and resolute reaction of the entire Yugoslav community to the attempt at threatening the country's integrity, its constitutional order and one of the greatest achievements of its revolution, the brotherhood and unity, turned the anger of ZERI I POPULLIT this time to a much wider field. The attack is now launched on a considerably larger front and is now already aimed at "the Serbian, Croatian and Slovene town criers," at the "writing of the Serbian, Croatian, Slovene and other press."

Characteristically, it is precisely the leaders of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo of Albabian nationality whom ZERI I POPULLIT assails most bitterly and at whom it hurls most of its insults and even threats, something that is especially provocative and impermissible. They, as well as hundreds of thousands of Albanians who refused to be deceived by the organizers of hostile actions; the telegrams of support from Kosovo working collectives and from other communities; and, most of all, the situation in Kosovo itself, which is today completely different from what Tirana expected and hoped, trouble the AWP organ.

"It is sad and harmful that the writers of long articles in ZERI I POPULLIT, organ of the AWP Central Committee, have been in such a great hurry to proclaim their futile efforts to identify a small handful of open enemies with the Albanian people of Kosovo." Comrade Fadilj Hodza said the day before yesterday in his address to the Pristina aktiv of scientific, educational and cultural workers. He also said in the same speech: "In their political megalomania, which is not far removed from adventurism, certain responsible people in Tirana have recently tried to present themselves as protectors of the Albanians in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, and as some kind of guardian." He immediately added that during the war 50,000 Albanian partisans fought under Tito's leadership and won the right to decide their own fate themselves without any outside tutorship, and that today some 90,000 Albanians are LCY members.

Demagogic Speculation

The very first lines of the second of the two articles show that putting a wrench in our works is ZERI I POPULLIT's most important preoccupation. The demagogic speculation about differences in the development of the individual parts of our country, differences that have continued for years now, quickly find expression at the very beginning of the article. The name of Comrade Dolanc is mentioned, and it is immediately noted in this connection that he is "Slovene by nationality," and that Slovenia has the highest standard of living in Yugoslavia." This approach is needed to make it possible then to advance the thesis that in our country "one republic or province is treated as a mother's boy whereas another province is treated as a stepmother's boy," and that "one of the brothers is fed with a golden spoon whereas another is fed with a small wooden spoon." And all that is said to support the refrain: "This shows neither brotherhood nor unity."

Thus allusions are made, comparing Kosovo and Slovenia, but not comparing Kosovo and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, because only in the latter case would it be possible to see how much has been accomplished and where it has been accomplished, proceeding approximately from the same starting positions, what level of overall economic development and of standard of living has been achieved and where, not to mention in this connection also the personal and general freedoms.

As Comrade Fadilj Hodza described, in his classical way: This is a powerful illustration of the popular saying according to which "a weary pedestrian pities the horseman because his legs are dangling from a tall horse."

Such facts as that despite its population having more than doubled in the last three decades Kosovo has nevertheless made the quickest progress in its development in Yugoslavia, are passed over in silence. And these facts are not inaccessible. For instance, in the 1952-78 period, investments in basic assets in Kosovo increased by more than 19 times, whereas in the SFRY as whole they increased by 7.7 times. Instead of this kind of discussion, the argument is used that abroad "there is not a single economic emigrant from the 'Stalinist, statist and bureaucratic Albania'..." as though it were unknown to the Yugoslavs and the rest of the world that what is involved here is a hermetically sealed country, a self-isolated country about whose prisons, camps and periodic purges a great deal is heard, known and written.

The only thing that is recognized as something positive is expressed as follows: "We have confirmed and are confirming now that in the last decade Albanian education and culture in Kosovo and, to a lesser extent, in Macedonia and Montenegro, have made praiseworthy progress." It was not difficult to make this statment in view of the fact that Pristina University, with its 50,000 students, that is twice as many as in the entire People's Socialist Republic of Albania is Yugoslavia's third largest university, and in view of the fact that the development of school education and culture in this province of ours has advanced at a rate that is unprecedented nearly anywhere else, something that certainly could not have been achieved without a corresponding economic development.

Consistency in Isolation

In Tirana's self-imposed isolationism, however strange and incomprehensible this may be in the contemporary period, there is a certain system which should not be underrated. Its absence from the Helsinki conference, which accepted and confirmed all European postwar borders, appears to us today in a different light than might have seemed to be the case at the time; it appears as a wayward consistency in one's own isolation.

The rejection of the provisions of the London and Versailles Treaties in the first ZERI I POPULLIT article, regardless of the fact that the new Socialist Yugoslavia was founded by the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia and is the result of the liberation and revolutionary struggle of all its peoples and nationalities, contains the dangerous greater-Albanian burdens of Tirana and de facto territorial claims against our country.

All that is supported also by a certain continuity, over many years, of the grossest attacks on the LCY and SFRY, as well as on Tito, by Enver Hoxha's book of memoirs entitled the "Khrushchevites" in which he cites Stalin's consent to creating a greater Albania in the Balkans, and finally by mentioning in the last ZERI I POPULLIT article some alleged similar promises also from our side.

The Albanian press published articles in this spirit 3 years ago, and thus the following assurances are all the less convincing today: "Despite all that, Albania has never had any territorial claims." Also similar is the case--or at least it requires a contrary and long confirmation in practice--asserting that Albania will not associate with emigres who are hostile toward Yugoslavia, that is specifically with the Ustashas and Chetniks, when at the same time the foreign press is invoked reporting from the same circles untrue and tendentiously charged information about a greater number of injured in the demonstrations than there were in fact.

An objective stand on the same wavelength with that kind of company, certainly an unpleasant company--because of which a dissociation was necessary--as well as a destabilization policy in this region can only negatively affect the security of both countries.

What Goes With "Good Wishes"

The anti-Yugoslav policy of many years, a policy filled with numerous excessive attacks to which the Yugoslav side all too often did not respond, wishing to improve and gradually advance relations between the two neighboring countries, is interpreted as being a matter of ideological disagreement. This is in the second ZERI I POPULLIT article also. At the same time that good wishes to "the fraternal Yugoslav people" are noted several places in the article, our entire federation is devalued; it is said that in that federation "the only positive factor is... the Albanian factor," our nonaligned policy is grossly assailed and self-management is the main target of attack.

Insisting on the assertion that in Albania socialism is being built "on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin," the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT says among other things: "We fight and will resolutely continue to fight against world capitalism, imperialism and contemporary revisionism, regardless of whether they are Soviet, Chinese, Yugoslav or Eurocommunist." And further: "We oppose and ideologically struggle against the Yugoslav self-management... We are doing this and will always resolutely do it...." Whether this will be done only "ideologically" or also very practically and by direct engagement, as ZERI I POPULLIT is doing--that is a question after which many other questions can also be asked.

In conclusion, the second ZERI I POPULLIT article nevertheless says that a more successful development of trade, cultural and other relations between the two countries in recent years is considered "a very good thing" by the Albanian side also. However, the cultivation of good neighborly relations and the interest in peace and stability in the Balkans can acquire their full value only if they are mutual and based on the tested principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference, and mutual trust; that is, briefly, in this specific case, if Kosovo is considered a bridge of rapproachement between the two countries, as it is so considered in Yugoslavia.

Thus, following the open support extended by Tirana through its party organ to the greater Albanian irredentists and militant demonstrators of various colors in Kosovo, the earlier suspicions once again become current and the shadows of serious doubts appear quite justified. Accompanied as they are by slanders in bad taste and everything that follows them, the ZERI I POPULLIT messages about interest in good relations with Yugoslavia sound unconvincing. Time and many good results, without any new unpleasant surprises, will be needed to compensate for everything that, through Tirana's fault, has had undesirable and grave effects on the relations between the two countries in recent weeks.